Tamil TIMES

75p

Vol VIII No.5 ISSN 0266-4488 APRIL 1989

★ **N-E Chief Minister's Visit to Delhi**

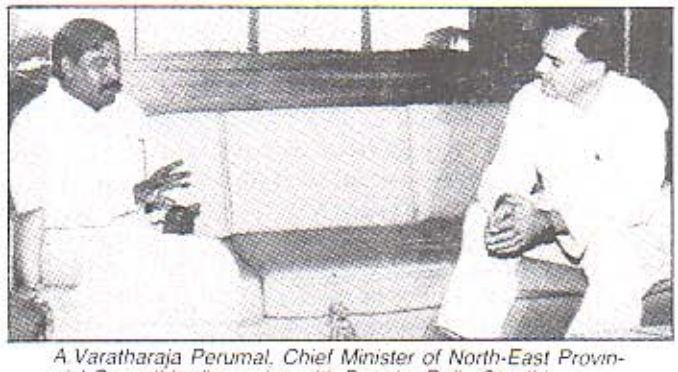
★ ***A new shadow over Sri Lanka***

V.Balakumar, Secretary General of the Eelavar Democratic Front who led a delegation for discussion with President Premadasa.

★ Violent scenes in TN Assembly

★ *Will EDF MPs attend Parliament?*

★ **Wijeweera and the 1971 'insurrection'**



A Varatharaja Perumal, Chief Minister of North-East Provincial Council in discussion with Premier Rajiv Gandhi.

★ **GOPALASAMI SAGA & JAYALALITHA DRAMA**

★ Jayawardena's damaging contribution

★ ***LTTE to negotiate with President Premadasa***

LTTE leader, V. Prabhakaran, playing with his pet leopard-cub in a remote hideout in the jungles of north-east Sri Lanka.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

CONTENTS

LTTE agreement to Negotiate 3
Gopalasami Saga & Jayalalitha Drama . .5
Violent Scenes in Tamil Nadu Assembly. 7
Letters 9
A New Shadow over Sri Lanka. 10

The publishers assume no responsibility for return of unsolicited manuscripts, photographs and artwork.

Tamil TIMES

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

UK/India/Sri Lanka. . . £10/US$20
All other countries. . . £15/US$30

Published monthly by
TAMIL TIMES LTD
P.O. BOX 121
SUTTON, SURREY SM1 3 TD
UNITED KINGDOM
Phone: 01-644 0972

CONTENTS

Jayawardene's Damaging Contribution 12
Colvin – a giant among intellectuals . . . 15
News in brief 16
Rasanayagam's Ancient Jaffna 19
Classified Advertisements 22

Views expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the editor or the publishers.

THE PROPOSED REFERENDUM

One of the last executive acts of former President Jayawardene was to cause the publication of a gazette notification announcing the holding of a referendum in the eastern province of Sri Lanka on July 5. This referendum is purported to offer to the people of that province an opportunity to determine whether the present merger of the northern and eastern provinces should continue or not.

When the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was announced and signed in July 1987, the provision relating to the holding of a referendum on this question was roundly condemned by all sections of Tamil opinion. It would seem that when this opposition was notified to the Indian authorities, they pointed to that part of the provision which gave power to the President of Sri Lanka to 'postpone' the holding of the referendum, and assurance was given that the President would use this power to prevent it taking place in the foreseeable future. Even without informing New Delhi, the former President announced the date for the referendum during the last days of his presidency with the full knowledge that the new president would face tremendous problems in that connection. Why did Jayawardene do this without giving the chance to the incoming President to decide on the question? The answer must certainly be attributed to his characteristic capacity for mischief-making and to his malevolent desire to embroil the new President in political trouble.

The significance of a merged northern and eastern province for the Tamil people must be considered in the light of the emergence of the demand for a separate state comprising what they regard as their traditional homelands. That demand was already on the political agenda and sections of the Tamil people had taken up arms to achieve that demand and the conflict has continued now for years with great loss of life and property. The merger of the north and east with a substantial degree of autonomous powers was submitted as a compromise to end the conflict and a political solution. Any attempt at a demerger of the two provinces through a so-called referendum would be judged as a rejection of that compromise and therefore the demand for a separate state would be back on the agenda with renewed force.

Even the very idea of holding a referendum only in the eastern province has very little intellectual validity. If the people are to be given a genuine opportunity to determine their own future, then the referendum must cover both the northern and eastern provinces. If it is thought that only the people of the east should take part in the referendum that would determine the fate of the merged province, then why not offer to all the Tamil people the opportunity of a referendum to determine the question whether they wish to be part of the Sri Lankan state or create their own separate state?

To hold a referendum at the present juncture seems to be all the more foolhardy particularly in the context of the single North-East Provincial Council having come into existence already. The seat of administration of this Council is now situated in Trincomalee which is in the eastern province and the administrative infrastructure is being slowly and gradually constructed after years of disruption and devastation.

It is well known, and known for a long time, that Sinhala politicians of the ruling United National Party and the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party are opposed to the merger of the two provinces. Even after the tragic experience of the last several years, they do not seem to have learnt the need to come to a constitutional and institutional arrangement under which sharing of political power could be achieved on an equitable basis in keeping with the aspirations of the peoples who inhabit the island. The continued colonisation by Sinhala settlers particularly in the Weli Oya area is a case in point deliberately intended to remove the ethnic Tamil contiguity of the north and east. The colonisation in this area is being undertaken almost as if it were a military operation. The IPKF which is operating everywhere else in the north and east is prohibited from this area which has been given over to the jurisdiction of the Defence Ministry.

In spite of state-aided discriminatory colonisation policies pursued by successive governments, the eastern province is still predominately inhabited by Tamil speaking people which includes the Muslim community. Despite the attempts at divide and rule, the Muslim communiity has made its position clear on the question of merger of the two Tamil provinces. The Sri Lanka Muslim Congress which obtained the vast majority of Muslim votes has categorically supported the merger of the provinces and opposed the holding of the referendum. What they seek is to assure that the identity and interests of the Muslim community are preserved within a merged province. And this is the matter to which leaders of all communities, including those of the Tamil militant organisations, must devote their attention as a matter of urgency.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

COLOMBO NEWSLETTER

by Chithra

- LTTE AGREEMENT TO NEGOTIATE
- N-E CHIEF MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA
- EDF MPs TO ATTEND PARLIAMENT ?
- WIJEWEERA & 1971 'INSURRECTION'

Colombo, 15 April – Even as the body count of the dead in a series of violent incidents in the south and north of the island was mounting following the dismissive rejection and defiance by the Jantha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) and the LTTE of the unilateral ceasefire declared by the government of Sri Lanka and the Indian Peace Keeping Force, the LTTE's indication that it was prepared to hold direct negotiations with President Premadasa has been seen as a surprise development.

The announcement that the LTTE had delivered a letter to the President asking him to arrange for negotiations on the very same day at least 21 Sri Lankan soldiers were killed and several more injured in a landmine attack attributed to the LTTE at Weli Oya in north-east Sri Lanka bewildered many. It would seem that the LTTE's letter was in response to an open invitation extended by the President a few days earlier to the JVP and LTTE for talks when he gave details of the ceasefire that was to commence on 12 April. Although the ceasefire call collapsed before it even started, the LTTE's readiness for negotiations with the Sri Lankan government would appear to represent a major shift in LTTE's stance hitherto projected.

The LTTE's letter while welcoming the President's move for talks stated that the LTTE expressed its opposition to the presence of 'external forces' in the country, which is an obvious reference to the IPKF. The LTTE has asked the President to make arrangements for the talks at which it wants to raise questions relating to the withdrawal of the IPKF, devolution of powers and a permanent ceasefire.

LTTE's announcement about its willingness for talks with the government has occurred in the background of a series of major military operations by the IPKF in the Mullaitivu district against LTTE bases and hideouts located in thick jungles. In these operations that were escalated during the latter part of March and the first weeks of this month, there have been mounting casualties on both sides. In two incidents alone, the IPKF is said to have lost over fifty of its men. The IPKF is reported to have deployed several thousand troops to surround the area and used heavy artillery and helicopters to mount attacks resulting in many civilian casualties. An LTTE press release dated 23 March stated that the IPKF had set up six new military camps at Nithikaikulam, Thannimurippu, Kumulamunai, Aanandankulam and Nayaru. At least 25 IPKF men were killed in two separate landmine attacks by the LTTE at Mankulam and Oddusuddan on 6 April following which IPKF reinforcements were reported to have mounted major operations in both these areas resulting in the death of at least 20 persons.

Political analysts are speculating that another background factor that might have prompted the LTTE's shift in stance towards negotiation is the slow but gradual progress towards consolidation of the EPRLF's hold in the northern and eastern provinces through the Provincial Council set up. Although not fully functioning, the EPRLF dominated Provincial Government is making strenuous efforts to gain the support of the people by using its political power within the framework of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and at the same time is trying to implement a programme of rehabilitation and reconstruction. The provincial government is also engaged in the setting up of a Citizens Volunteer Force (CVF) whose members are being trained by the IPKF to carry out normal law and order functions.

The LTTE regards the EPRLF provincial administration as illegitimate and has not hesitated to employ all the means at its disposal to disrupt all efforts by the latter to restore civil administration and thereby consolidate itself. The LTTE's ban on all civilian administative services, except those that are regarded by it as essential to the life of the community, is enforced strictly and anyone that defies the ban can expect to face dire consequences. Only a few days ago, Additional Government Agent of Jaffna, Ramanathan, was shot dead following a sentence of death imposed on him for collaboration with the provincial administration.

VISIT TO DELHI

The reluctance of President Premadasa's government to devolve even the limited powers provided under the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution and its failure to allocate adequate financial resources to the provincial administration resulted in the much publicised 12-day visit from March 11 by a three man delegatiion led by the former North-East Chief Minister, Varatharaja Perumal to New Delhi. The delegation met Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, External Affairs Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, Defence Minister K.C. Pant, Minister of State for External Affairs K. Natwar Singh, Foreign Secretary S.K. Singh, and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M. Karunanidhi, who was also in New Delhi at about the same time having discussions with the Centre on the Sri Lankan Tamil question. Besides the Chief Minister, the EPRLF delegation consisted of its Secretary General K. Padmanaba, Central Committee Member K. Shanthan and Member of Parliament K. Premachandran (also known as Suresh).

Having plunged headlong in a strategy of supporting the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and its implementation through the provincial council system and consequently having participated in the provincial council elections in the face of violent opposition from many quarters, including the LTTE, and finding itself saddled with 'power', it would seem that the EPRLF found itself increasingly frustrated by the slow pace of devolution, lack of resources and an inability to create a law and order infrastructure to enable it to implement its programme for 'peace and reconstruction'.

Despite the many trips the Chief Minister made to Colombo to meet the President, nothing concrete was happening. The President has failed to devolve even the powers contained in the 13th Amendment. Bureaucrats were having a field day in misinterpreting the provisions of the powers that have been devolved. 300,000 people had been rendered homeless; 70,000 houses destroyed; almost all roads have been damaged; telecommunications and transport systems have collapsed. There was no shortage of funds. The millions of dollars pledged by donor countries for reconstruction of north and east are idling in banks in Colombo. The government has not even released funds for salaries to be paid to the CVP. The PC was unable to deal with land and land settlement. The colonisation of Tamil areas, particularly in the Weli Oya area, was still continuing.

On top of all this, the government was proposing to hold a referendum in the Eastern Province on July 5 which will result in certain bloodshed. It would seem that these were the issues that the EPRLF delegation raised with the Indian government leaders. It also sought assistance in the form of expertise and machinery to reconstruct the devasted N-E province.

The visit by the Chief Minister and

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

his colleagues to India occured in the full glare of publicity and with the knowledge and consent of the Colombo government. But mischief-making Sinhala politicians and the chauvinistic press of Sri Lanka did not fail in their characteristic reaction. They questioned the propriety of the Chief Minister of a province visiting New Delhi and having discussions on 'domestic matters' with leaders of a foreign country 'by-passing' Colombo. 'The Island' (24.3.89), which specialises in anti-India hysteria, editorially charged Rajiv Gandhi of having 'blatantly interfered in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka once again '. Two SLFP MPs raised questions in Parliament saying, 'It is like the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao travelling to the USA and asking for aid from President Bush'.

'If the Indian government had entered into an agreement with the government of the USA to solve some problem affecting Andhra Pradesh, then Rama Rao would be entitled to go to the USA and discuss matters with President Bush if the Indian government fails to implement the Agreement. Since the Indian government was one of the signatories to the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and has a commitment to implement iit, it was right for the CM of the N-E Provincial Council to raise matters with the Indian government when one of the signatories, Sri Lanka, fails to implement the provisions of the Agreement', K. Shanthan of the EPRLF said in defence of their visit to New Delhi.

EDF MEETS PRESIDENT

Fifteen members of EROS (now known as Eelavar Democratic Front – EDF) who were in prison for long periods were released on 6 April following a discussion between President Premadasa and the leaders of EDF. Velupillai Balakumar, the Secretary and some other leading members of EDF had met the President on two occasions in the course of which they raised certain demands the grant of which was considered necessary for the newly elected EDF MPs to attend Parliament. Up to now, they had kept away from attending Parliament.

Some of 'the basic demands that would create a conducive climate' for EDF MPs to attend Parliament identified by Mr. Balakumar were the release of political prisoners, the repeal of the 6th Amendment to the Constitution, the abandonment of forced Sinhala colonisation particularly in the Mullaitivu area along Manal Aru (which is now called in Sinhala as Weli Oya) and the proposed referendum to be held in the east to determine the question of the merger of the northern and eastern provinces.

Among the Tamil militant organistions, the EDF has had a non-antagonistic relationship with the LTTE. Did the discussions between EDF leaders and the President have anything to do with the new development of possible talks between the President and the LTTE is the question that is being raised in political circles.

But the demand of the LTTE that the IPKF should withdraw immediately is not one with which the EDF is in agreement. The EDF leadership regards that it is in the interests of the Tamil community to maintain friendly relations with India and therefore any antagonistic posture by the LTTE to India would not be welcomed by the EDF. The EDF wants to prevent the LTTE being trapped into becoming a trojan horse for President Premadasa's strategic designs.

JVP ANNIVERSARY

On April 5, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) called for a day of mourning to be observed to mark the anniversary of the 5 April 1971 'insurrection'. The 'insurrection' began with a simultaneous attack on about 85 police stations in various parts of the island. The challenge to the state by the JVP leadership at that time was put down with great force by the then government under the premiership of Mrs. S. Bandaranaike. The eventual death toll was estimated to be in the region of 20,000.

What is of political significance is the fact that none of the 1971 JVP leaders of the JVP, with the sole exception of Rohana Wijeweera are today in the JVP. Most of them left the JVP on their own accord or were forced out. Those among them who showed signs of political activity have been targeted for attack and elimination by the present day JVP.

Another important point to note is the fact that when the JVP leaders met in Kelaniya on 2 April 1971 and decided to launch the 'insurrection', Rohana Wijeweera was already in prison held in the secure Dutch-built fortress, the Jaffna Fort. His arrest and detention occured a few weeks earlier when he voluntarily presented himself at a police station in Amparai in the eastern province. During the 'insurrection', a JVP contingent made a rather abortive amateurish attempt to spring Rohana out to freedom from the Jaffna Fort allegedly on orders from Rohana himself.

When 42 of the then JVP leaders were subsequently charged before a specially constituted Judicial Commission, Rohana Wijeweera totally disclaimed responsibility for the decision made by the Politbureau on 2 April 1971 to launch the insurrection and denounced it in no uncertain terms. He also denied that the attack on the Jaffna Fort to free him had his approval or prior knowledge. In brief, according to the then JVP leader, the whole exercise was masterminded by 'agent provocateurs' some of whom had later turned witnesses for the prosecution.

In this background, the question posed by those with an intimate knowledge of what transpired in those days is: What then and why the present JVP and its leader Rohana Wijeweera were commemorating on 5 April 1989?

IPKF WITHDRAWAL BY DECEMBER

Sri Lanka's Defence Minister, Ranjan Wijeratne, replying to a debate in parliament on 5 April, said that a further contingent of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) would leave the island by June 30 and 'hopefully the rest would be sent back by December 31, 1989'.

The IPKF was invited to the country by former President Jayawardene and it was hoped that it would leave in two or three months but due to the escalation of violence both in the north and south, they could not leave as planned. The IPKF went to Sri Lanka as the Tamil militants did not want to hand over their weapons to the Sri Lankan military which they were fighting. But when the LTTE turned their guns against the IPKF, the situation changed. Neither Jayawardene nor Rajiv Gandhi had even dreamt of such a situation arising, the Minister said.

45 KILLED IN CAR-BOMB EXPLOSION

At least 45 persons were killed and 57 others injured on 13 April when a car-bomb exploded in the heart of the eastern port city of Trincomalee near the clock tower. Among the dead were 8 Tamils and 3 Muslims but the majority of the victims belonged to the Sinhalese community. Following the incident violence erupted mainly directed at Tamils in the area in which at least 5 were killed.

The bomb had been planted in an old Morris Minor car and parked near the clock tower. After the explosion, the 'scene resembled a slaughterhouse. Limbs, legs and pieces of flesh were strewn all over the place, and blood was splattered around like red paint', one report said.

An indefinite curfew was promptly enforced with a view to prevent further spread of generalised violence.

No one claimed responsibility while the EPRLF and the LTTE put the blame on each other. A LTTE statement said that the incident was the product of a conspiracy between the IPKF and the EPRLF to discredit the Tigers. The EPRLF responded by saying that they were engaged in restoring peace and the administration; Trincomalee was their administrative centre and therefore it was inimical to their interests to indulge in that type of criminal violence.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

MADRAS NEWSLETTER:
by Arjuna

THE GOPALASWAMI SAGA & THE JAYALALITHA DRAMA

With the Tamil Nadu Assembly elections having passed off peacefully in January, with the DMK government comfortably ensconced in power, with political stability having returned to the State, whoever expected in March that the political atmospheric pressure would shoot up so suddenly? March turned out to be the most eventful month in recent Tamil Nadu memory, with several high-powered events, one following the other in quick succession. In fact, the month provided real-life Tamil cinema, with Mr Karunanidhi as usual writing the script, Jayalalitha playing the role of the tragic heroine, V. Gopalaswami in the adventurous male lead and with ex-Speaker Pandian providing the comic part. The 'fights' were there in plenty, the action taking place in the Assembly itself, and the 'song and dance' came from minor actors from the AIADMK and Congress-I. There was a lot of suspense too, revolving around hero Gopalaswami and also around the behaviour pattern of plump heroine Jayalalitha. Since no Tamil cinema would be complete without the police also coming in, they also did their part, with city Police Commissioner P Dorai himself playing the stellar role. The sub-plots in the story involved Jayalalitha's political and personal confidant, M Natarajan, – on the heroine's side, and DMK MP Murasoli Maran on the hero's side. Emotions of all kinds were brought out – Anger, Despair, Pathos, Bathos, Mystery, Intrigue .... As Oscar Wilde would have said it, it was a case of Life imitating Art!

Briefly, the events of March went thus. Although Mr Gopalaswami's 'Eelam saga' began in the first week of February, and was known by the second and third weeks, it was not until Mr Karunanidhi publicly released the letter written to him by Mr Gopalaswami at a press conference on March 3, that the political fall-out began to be felt. (See box – That emotion-charged letter). The letter dated February 5 was stated to have been delivered to Mr. Karunanidhi through a messenger only on February 24. five days after the party general secretary K. Anbalagan had publicly disassociated the party and the leader from the MP's trip. The letter itself was released only on March 3 after a hurriedly summoned Press Conference at the end of a Cabinet meeting; at which point of time Mr Gopalaswami had not yet returned from his secret mission. At least, it was presumed so. On the 4th, the Indian media was busy speculating that the MP was still in Vavuniya, and that he was in the custody of the IPKF. On the other hand, unnamed IPKF sources were quoted as saying that they were looking for him and that he was last seen at the northern coast of Valvettiturai. The very next day, on the 5th, Mr Gopalaswami surfaced dramatically in Madras, and held a Press Conference at the DMK headquarters, 'Anna Arivalayam'.

Why was the letter written on February 5 delivered to Mr Karunanidhi only onthe 24th? To this question, Mr Karunanidhi said he did not know. Asked the same question later, Mr Gopalaswami said 'I wanted them to hand it over a little late, not immediately after my departure'.

Mr Karunanidhi's position on March 3 was that Mr G. need not have undertaken this perilous journey. It enthusiasm that had impelled him to undertake the trip, but it did not conform to the party stand. When pressmen tried to pin him down by asking whether action would be taken against Mr Gopalaswami for flouting party discipline, the CM adroitly sidestepped the question. He said it was Mr Gopalaswami's approach that differed, not the policy.

Mr Gopalaswami's crowded Press Conference on March 5 naturally made headline news. Even THE HINDU thought it discreet to give it big front page play as the Page 1 lead under the headline: GOPALASWAMY BACK AFTER MEETING PRABHAKARAN, although much of what Mr Gopalaswami said went to contradict what THE HINDU had been all along telling its readers.

On the following day, for some unaccountable reason ,Mr Karunanidhi stiffened his stand. He termed his MP's visit as a 'highly irresponsible act', while talking to reporters. He said there was no difficulty in getting a visa and going to Sri Lanka through the normal channel; and cited the case of his daughter Selvi and his nephew's wife who went to Sri Lanka to attend a function. Many journalists had visited Jaffna even without visas, going from the IPKF base in Tambaram. 'This unnecessary adventure is unacceptable to the DMK', he said. Whatever Mr Gopalaswami had seen, heard and observed in Jaffna was nothing new, and he has not brought any news. Many people, including several DMK sources found the chief Minister's arguments unconvincing, but no one spoke out. Going to Colombo on a visa is not the same thing as going to meet Prabhakaran in the Vavuniya jungles. It was hardly likely that the Sri Lankan government would have agreed to give a visa to a known LTTE propagandists such as Mr Gopalaswami, even if he had applied for one; and even if he was given the visa, surely he could not have been permitted to visit Vavuniya and meet Prabhakaran. But Mr Karunanidhi's statements, whatever made him say those, had one positive result. The earlier aggressive stances from New Delhi and Colombo became muted. Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne who told the BBC in a telephone interview that they would ask India to take action against Mr. Gopalaswami for illegally entering the island or alternatively to extradite him to Sri Lanka so that they could take action, became considerably mollified. When he met acting Indian High Commissioner Nirupan Sen on the 8th, he expressed satisfaction at the statements made by Mr. Karunanidhi.

With the heat and dust evoked by L'Affaire Gopalaswami reduced considerably by Mr Karunanidhi's surprisingly strong statements, it was soon eclipsed by the two by-elections to the Tamil Nadu Assembly, in the Madurai East and Marungapuri constituencies, marking two electoral reverses for a party that was hardly two months in power. It became a great boost for the re-unified AIADMK under the leadership of Ms. Jayalalitha, but somehow that hour of triumph did not seem to be bringing much cheer to the comely Leader of the Opposition. Not only did she fail to make her appearance in the election fray, she had been failing to make an appearance in the Assembly itself, with Deputy leader Thirunavukkarasu carrying the burden even while the DMK government was taking the war into MGR's alleged liquor empire. Why was the lady unhappy? Was she ailing from some unknown disease? Speculation was running high. She was getting inaccessible even to her own party men. And then broke a storm.

On the 18th, Jayalalitha's controversial confidant Natarajan was arrested by the Police, who said they were acting on the basis of a criminal charge brought in by a Jayalalitha supporter, alleging large-scale misappropriation of money in connection with the elections. It was also reported that Ms Jayalalitha had in a letter sent to the Speaker resigned her office and seat in the Assembly, and was quitting politics. The letter was not disputed, but the very next day, the AIADMK pro-

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

tested that such a letter was not **sent** to the Speaker. Then who had sent it? And if it was not intended to be sent, why was it written at all? The AIADMK alleged that it was political vendetta on the part of Mr Karunanidhi and took out protest processions. Meanwhile rumours began to circulate that Ms Jayalalitha herself had been arrested leading to violence in several places. Assembly Speaker Thamilkudimagan announced that he accepted Ms Jayalalitha's assurance that she never **intended** to resign, and that the resignation letter that reached him under mysterious circumstances was not sent by Ms Jayalalitha. Meanwhile, Mr Natarajan alleged that the police arrested him because he refused to hand over the resignation letter. Although Ms Jayalalitha had told him over the phone to destroy the letter, he did not do so as he wanted to destroy it in the presence of Ms Jayalalitha herself and Ms Sasikala her personal aide and his wife. As to why Ms Jayalalitha thought it necessary to write that resignation letter at all, remains unexplained, but rumour has it that Ms Jayalalitha had been having regular rows with Natarajan over financial matters, and felt let down by the very person she trusted most. A highly-strung person by nature, it was this which made her get into a fit of pique and write that resignation letter, so goes the grapevine.

The violence that rocked the Assembly on 25th was the eventual culmination of a series of behind-the-scenes dramas that were going on, but by the end of March, Chief Minister Karunanidhi appears to have the situation well under control. He has asked the Police not to proceed against Ms. Jayalalitha, although there were several criminal complaints against her, he told the Assembly on the 28th. On the violent incidents in the House in which both parties were affected, he said, 'I am pained, and I bow my head in shame'.

It is not altogether a happy ending, what with Ms Jayalalitha vowing not to return to the Assembly as long as the Karunanidhi government remains in power, and with the AIADMK and Congress-I joining hands to embarass the DMK government as much as possible and hoping for divine intervention if not the Centre intervention. But it is very unlikely that the drama involving Ms Jayalalitha would lead to any further political dust-up in the State. What really needs watching is the possible sequel to the Gopalaswami saga.

Mr Karunanidhi visited New Delhi on the 15th and 16th, and came out with some curious statements. Having met Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, he declared that he and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi were on the 'same wave length' on the Sri Lanka issue. Minister of State for External Affairs Natwar Singh had called on him. While refusing to divulge details of his talks with the Prime Minister, he said the problem could be solved only through negotiations involving all groups, including LTTE. 'The Prime Minister's response is not inconsistent with our approach', he said. Asked if he would insist on a unilateral cease-fire by the IPKF to create a cordial atmosphere before discussions with the LTTE and other groups, the Chief Minister said that a cease-fire, laying down of arms by the LTTE and lasting peace were all interrelated and would come in a package. As for Mr Gopalaswami's visit, he said it was 'not taken seriously by either side'. Several deductions could be drawn from the above. If Mr. Karunanidhi has shifted his earlier stand on the question of Tamil Eelam, so apparently has Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on issues relating to the LTTE. Are all parties involved – the Indian Government, the Tamil Nadu Government, the Sri Lanka Government – trying to underplay the Gopolaswami episode? If so, why? Despite what Mr Gopalaswami had come out with at his Press conference, conjectures, theories, and speculations about the background behind his secret mission, about the manner of the visit and about what he conveyed to Mr. Karunanidhi on his return, one gets the feeling that not all the truth has come out. The Tamil-language periodicals in Tamil Nadu – 'Thevi', 'Tharasu', 'Thoondil', 'Junior Vikatan', 'Junior Post', 'Ungal Visitor', 'Namathu Nirupar'– a whole gamut of political journals that have sprouted here in recent years, had a field day, and all of them had roaring sales at news stands. Having read at least twenty different versions of Gopalaswami episode, I asked Mr Gopalaswami himself how much of the 'stories' were true? 'Roughly about 70% untrue', he said with a twinkle in his eye.

There is reason to believe that a political formula is being worked out in order to hammer out a permanen settlement, short of Tamil Eelam of course, but assuring Tamils of a high degree of autonomy, in which the LTTE would be offered a leading role. As to how the Indian and Tamil Nadu governments hope to get the LTTE drawn into it, or the Sri Lanka government agree to it, remains a mystery.

That emotion-charged letter

A free translation from Tamil to English of the letter written by Mr. Gopalaswami to Mr Karunanidhi, dated Feb 5 and delivered to him on the 24th. Only certain operative portions are given:

"I submit this letter at the feet of Dr Kalaignar, the motivatinng force behind me, dearer than my own life. When you receive this letter and if I were alive then, I would be journeying in the jungles of Vavuniya to meet brother Prabhakaran. I have undertaken this trip after deep consideration for several days . . . I have never looked upon you as an ordinary Chief Minister. My unquenchable desire is that the world should see my leader as the person who changed the distressing fate of Eelam Tamils and restored to Tamils their pride. Prabakharan has taken a firm stand in the Eelam battlefield and he sticks to it. He has written to me from death throes that he considers you the only ray of light amidst the enveloping darkness. I thought of the Eelam trip to explain to him your feelings that any good strategy should take into account the factors of time, place, the strength of the opponent and that one of one's own . . . Were I to be caught by the Sinhala army or by IPKF, you know that I will act in such a way as not to create any problem either to our party or to our government and will be prepared to even sacrifice my life . . . .On thousands of platforms, I have recited your verse – 'honour is the lullaby my son listened to; death is the game he played' – and till my last, I will recite only your glory".

TAMIL TIMES

Annual Subscription Rates
UK/India/Sri Lanka £10.00/US$20
All other countries £15.00/US$30

Please note: Payments by cheque or International M.O. in sterling or US dollars only

Please complete this form and post to
TAMIL TIMES Ltd., P.O. Box 121 Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD

deleting whichever is inapplicable

I wish to pay/renew my subscription for one year/two years

I am sending you a gift subscription on behalf of:

.....

.....

Please send an introductory copy to:

.....

.....

I enclose a donation of .....

My cheque or P.O.M.O. in favour of Tamil Times Ltd is to the total value of .....

Name .....

(BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE)

Address .....

.....

Post Code ..... Tel.No .....

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

VIOLENT SCENES IN TAMIL NADU ASSEMBLY

Members Come to Blows

Leader of the Opposition Jayalalitha was assaulted by some Ministers and DMK legislators and earlier Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi was roughed up by AIADMK members as violence rocked the Tamil Nadu Assembly.

And all AIADMK members, barring one who was absent today (28 in effect), were later suspended from the House till March 31 for their 'unruly behaviour' and 'attempt to obstruct the proceedings of the House'.

For more than 15 minutes the violence was unabated and Ms Jayalalitha became the main target of attack. Blows, kicks and budget documents were rained on her by DMK Ministers and members even as her party colleagues tried to protect her and retaliate. The announcement by the Speaker that he was adjourning the House had no effect at all.

Karunanidhi attacked

Mr. Karunanidhi himself was attacked by an AIADMK member and the budget papers were snatched from his hands and torn to pieces. His spectacles were broken in the process, and he had to be escorted out of the House by the marshals.

Congress-I leader G.K. Moopanar, sitting a seat away from Ms Jayalalitha, also found himself the target of books and chappals. So did some of his party colleagues.

The violence was a sequel to the Jayalalitha resignation episode over which both Ms Jayalalitha and Congress-I deputy leader Kumari Ananthan had given notice for breach of privilege motions.

There was palpable tension since the morning, and there was an air of expectancy about what course the AIADMK would adopt over the resignation drama. Ms. Jayalalitha, who had come to the Assembly precincts as early as 9.30 am, first had discussions with some of her party leaders and followed it up with discussions with Congress-I deputy leader Kumari Ananthan and others.

Points of order

When the House assembled at 11am for the presentation of the budget for 1989-90 by Mr.Karunanidhi, who also holds the Finance portfolio, first Mr. Kumari Ananthan and then Ms. Jayalalitha rose on the points of order demanding that the privilege notices given by them be taken up immediately. Ms. Jayalalitha, who made references to alleged misuse of the police by the Chief Minister and demanded the resignation of his cabinet, also wanted the adjournment motion for which she had given notice to be taken up immediately instead of the budget.

But former Speaker and the lone member of what was the AIADMK-JR, PH Pandikan came to the government's defence and made certain remarks, which had the Jayalalitha party members protesting. Not to be outdone, Mr. Pandian was shouting himself hoarse, even as several AIADMK members moved threateningly down the aisle.

Speaker Thamizhkudimagan calmed everyone and expunged all the remarks made till then and said that he would give his ruling on the admissibility of the privilege motions and the adjournment motions on Monday. He needed time to study the notices and decide whether there was a prima facie case for their admission.

A distraught Ms Jayalalitha displays the portion of her saree allegedly torn by Minister Murugan.

He pointed out that the date for the presentation of the Budget was fixed by the Governor and rulings by earlier Speakers had set a precedent that on the day of budget presentation the House could not take up any other business. He then called upon Mr. Karunanidhi to present the Budget.

'Tell Shoban Babu'

Mr.Karunanidhi started reading out the budget speech, even as AIADMK members protested. Ms. Jayalalitha also stood up and started reading out a prepared text. Mr. Karunanidhi covered his mike with his hand and said 'Go and tell Shoban Babu (a Telugu actor whose name had at one time been linked with that of Ms. Jayalalitha'. She seemed visibly taken aback, but continued to read out a text. Mr. Karunanidhi covered his mike and said the same thing to her again.

Hell breaks loose

And then hell broke loose. An AIADMK member K.A. Sengotaiyan rushed down the aisle towards Mr. Karunanidhi, apparently intent on obstructing him. He was joined by some other party colleagues, and as they crowded round Mr. Karunanidhi, he could be seen staggering back, apparently assaulted by AIADMK members and his budget speech copy snatched. A moment later it was shred to pieces and thrown up in the air.

As this was going on DMK members sprung to action. Probably the first to react was Deputy Speaker P. Doraisamy, who charged down and landed the first blow on the AIADMK members before being pulled back by Parliamentary Secretary L. Ganesan and others.

In a moment, several AIADMK members were tearing up budget speech copies that were being distributed to them and were throwing them up in the air.

Jayalalitha assaulted

But by then some Ministers including Transport Minister M. Kannappan, Information Minister Pon Muthuramalingam and Agriculture Minister Ko Si Mani had crowded around Mr. Karunanidhi and could be seen throwing punches and books and pads towards Ms. Jayalalitha. A blow by Mr Kannappan landed on Ms Jayalalitha's shoulder and as missiles started flying around, she sank back into her seat to ward off the blows. Her party colleagues, including deputy leader S. Thirunavukkarasu and whip KKSSR Ramachandran tried to throw a protective cordon around her. The latter even held for a brief while with a cardboard pad close to her to protect her head.

DMK men kick her

One DMK member, with his dhoti folded up, was on the table separating the treasury benches from the opposition and kicked at Ms Jayalalitha. He was promptly brought down by Mr Kumari Ananthan with a violent tug round the DMK man's waist. Similar attempts were made later by some other DMK members also.

In the meantime, Speaker Thamizhkudimagan, who was witnessing the scenes helplessly, adjourned the House and went out. Marshals who had entered the House to restore calm could not achieve anything. With the situation worsening the Chief Minister was escorted out of the House by the marshals.

But the battle inside raged on. Mikes were wrenched off their moorings and sent flying across the hall. One DMK member grabbed the lectern Mr. Karunanidhi had been using to read out the budget speech and tried to crash it down on where Ms Jayalalitha was sitting. He was pushed back, but came back again this time trying to throw it in the direction of Mr Moopanar. He was thwarted again. The lectern had earlier been sought to be used as a

Continued on p.17

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

Conveyancing!

Before you buy or sell your property write or telephone us for a written estimate of our fees

SOLICITORS with substantial experience can help you with the following:

- Divorce and Family Matters
- Motoring Offences
- Immigration
- Wills Probate and Administration
- Criminal and Civil
- Personal Injuries Cases
- Landlord and Tenant
- Unfair Dismissal
- Liquor Licensing

ALL LEGAL AID CASES UNDERTAKEN

Nalliah & Xavier

Solicitors, Administrators of Oaths, Privy Council Agents

N. Balakrishnan, LL.B.
A. Xavier B.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (CRIM)
1 Craven Park, Harlesden, London NW10 8SX
Tel: 01-965 7186 & 01-965 9307

MOTOR INSURANCE

Nobody looks harder to find you a competitive quote

MORTGAGES ARRANGED
100 p.c. MORTGAGES AVAILABLE
FIRST TIME BUYERS WELCOME

COMPETITIVE QUOTATIONS ON

* **Home contents insurance**
* **Life cover**
* **Pension policies**

We pride ourselves on personal service

Contact
J. KULENDRAN
Beddington Insurance Services Limited
157A Hartfield Road, Wimbledon, LONDON SW19 3TJ
Telephone: 01-543 5181

LANDMINES, AND THE COMING OF BLACK CATS

Now the landmines have come south, and with them a killing species calling themselves Black Cats. They strike after an attack by subversives on the Government's security personnel, usually policemen. A pattern of reprisal killings earlier set in the North; except that the landmine layers were then called separatist terrorists, and the vicitms were usually soldiers.

Black Cats killed 17 young people, including a woman, at Eppawala in the Anuradhapura district on March 20, hours after three policemen died in a landmine explosion. Notes claiming responsibility left near the bodies were signed 'Black Cats'. The deaths were punishment for followers of Rohana Wijeweera the notes said. Press reports also said that there were at least 50 victims in one day's killing. After local residents accused the police and questions were raised in parliament Deputy Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeratne promised a top-level CID inquiry.

Black Cats had gone on the rampage shooting, and burning houses. Sometimes the bodies appeared mysteriously by the roadside. Some were those of youths arrested earlier local residents claimed. Terrorised families were fleeing the district.

Deputy Inspector General of Police for the North Central Province, Premadasa Udugampola told newsmen that he was investigating the murders. According to the Sun he pledged to apprehend the Black Cats within a week. 'I don't want the Black Cats or any other group to take the authority of the police and kill people', the DIG told the Sun (March 23).

The Eppawala killings were the second incident in which civilians were killed after policemen were attacked in the Anuradhapura administrative district. Earlier seven suspected subversives were shot dead by armed men in 'uniforms' at Mahavilachchiya.

DIG Udugampola puts the toll of Black Cat killings at 30 to 35, but local residents' estimates are higher. Army personnel tend to agree.

Mr. Udugampola told the Sunday Times that he will restore peace and security in the North Central Province in three months.

Security services were put on maximum alert after the Anuradhapura district killings, following information of subversive attempts to cripple normal life throughout the country in protest.

Meanwhile Government sources said that new laws were to be brought in to strengthen the hands of the security forces in dealing with subversive activities. The police and other security forces were facing problems after the 5-year long state of Emergency was lifted, the sources said.

In Parliament on March 23 Opposition Leader Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike called for an independent probe into the Eppawela killings. She asked that the probe team should consist of police officers drawn from outside the North Central Province.

Minister Ranjan Wijeratne said in reply, that a special CID team would probe the killings. The Minister said that killings were taking place elsewhere in the country too, and expressed hope that the Opposition Leader would show as much concern about UNP members who were also being killed.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

LETTERS

TURNING A FRIEND INTO AN ENEMY!

Far too many events have taken place since July 1987, when the full involvement of India became a reality. The roles that our Tamil groups filled up to this period is highly commendable.

Tamils greeted the arrival of India on to our stage with much enthusiasm and lot of optimism. Unfortunately after about two months of the Indians' presence our initial 'saviour' label of them gradually turned into 'conqueror' label. The tongue waggings were so loose that it went to the extent of accusing India that they have come for their own interests.

As a Tamil, I find our attitude towards the Indians' role had been ungrateful, provocative, uncooperative, uncompromising to the extent of prolonging the suffering of our people. If only all our groups had cooperated with India to implement the ACCORD right from the word go, many lives especially of the innocent people would have been spared. By now certain positive directions in terms of planning and implementation would have taken place, The ACCORD as spelt out may not have solved all problems but that would have been the framework to say the least, from which all our aspirations could have materialised with India's mediation. Instead of this approach we made our friends as our enemy and drove them towards the opposite camp!

Let me now in a point form elucidate our misconceptions and the directions to head for, as follows:

1. Ungrateful

From 1983, July onwards we were welcomed in India with or without a Passport, some were camped and fed by the Indian Government. Our groups too got their full support in all forms.

India landed in Sri Lanka when the Tamils and groups were helpless during the Point Pedro/Vadamarachchi offensive was on by the Sri Lankan armed forces. Surely our memory cannot be that short to forget these and become ungrateful!

2.Provocative

Some of our groups provoked the IPKF and lost their respect. Having done this and when the deaths and sufferings were mounting, we started complaining bitterly but there was no one to listen to our self inflicted pity.

3.Uncooperative

Having bungled initially, our groups did not even heed to the subsequent call by India to support the ACCORD and play the democratic game of politics. This attitude still continues, hence our suffering too will continue until this attitude is overcome.

4.Uncompromising.

It was understandable that Tamils supported the Eelam cause up to the point when the Indians arrived, as the only hope against a Sinhala Government. This had to be compromised to a decentralised administration similar to what is prevalent in India. Unfortunately our groups refused to see this as an alternative and prolonged our sufferings due to their intransigent attitude.

India was dragged into Sri Lanka due to the wave of sympathy that prevailed at that time in Tamil Nadu. Our misconception is that India came purely for their benefit. This is being drummed into Tamil minds by the groups. India is a super power in our region and will be able to control Sri Lanka from New Delhi itself. In the present world power politics, no super power will want to antagonise India and support Sri Lanka. Hence let us realise the real reason as to why India came to Sri Lanka and not fool ourselves. The quickest way to get Indians out of our area will be to democratically follow the rules and bring peace to our areas.

6.Status quo

Let us at this late stage accept the status quo as at now in North/East province and build a future for our people. The following realities have to be faced:

a) Eelam as an independent state cry should be abandoned and work towards a decentralised administration for the Tamil speaking areas.

b) All arms and ammunitions to be surrendered by all groups and an effective policing force to be set up early.

c) Gun culture to be given up and Tamil cultural values to be upheld.

d) Democracy is the best and well suited ideology to follow and practised in our areas. Respect each other and do away with jungle or instant justice.

e) Confidence of the Indians and IPKF have to be won by cooperating with them for our benefit.

f) Tamils abroad, especially now holding foreign passports may do better by being loyal to their country of choice instead of making life difficult to their kith and kin in their country of birth.

g) Give full support to the present 'elected' administration in the North/East province and exercise their franchise at the next election for or against this administration.

h) Tamils in the North/East province know what is best for them. Hence they must come out and take part in the political activities to steer their destiny.

i) All forms of collections in the name of Tamil cause to be discouraged unless one is convinced to know the specific reason.

j) Politics is the art of possibilities and different courses have to be followed for different causes.

When a person is provoked he is bound to react the way he wants and no rules could be dictated by the other party. Reasons like they are only 'peacekeeping force', they killed 'our women and children' and carried out 'excesses' etc. etc. are and will be unheeded when the communication or respect between the two sides are lost.

R. Ganesharatnam.

Homebush
NSW 2140
Australia.

SLMC and the Rushdie Affair.

It has been wisely said that mixing religion with politics is more dangerous – in the Sri Lankan situation more disastrous – than mixing politics with religion.

Exploring the religious propensity of ordinary people, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress has been poisoning the political environment by mixing religion with politics.

Regardless of the consequences it now enters the joust on the Satanic Verses affair as a side-kick in the team of Ayatolah Khomeini. Worse, it endorses the order to assassinate the controversial author on the allegation that his book has 'blasphemed and ridiculed Islam'.

Incidentally, is a vibrant religion like Islam which has withstood many onslaughts so fragile that it cannot face up to insults or distortions, intended or unintended? Save Islam from its friends is a more appropriate call!

One simple question: From where do Ayatollah K. and the SLMC derive their auithority to issue this egregious 'religious decree'?

Jurist and Islamic scholar Prof Asaf AA Fayzee in his 'A Modern Approach to Islam' is categorical. "Strictly speaking there is no 'orthodoxy' or 'unorthodoxy' in Islam. Only an organised church can lay down canons of orthodoxy, heresy and unorthodoxy. If there is no church, it is difficult to conceive of a heretic or an unorthodox person."

When the Shi'ite trend, whose spokesman today is Ayatollah K. appeared in Islam, it was condemned as a heresy, for, inter alia, its denunciation of the first three Rightly-Guided Khalifas, the Companions of the Prophet, who were universally revered in mainstream Sunni Islam.

(By the way, the great Iqbal, in our day, was reviled as a heretic for his poem 'Ram' in which he declared the Hindu deity Rama as a prophet and a beacon light.)

Ayatollah K and the SLMC have

Continued on p.14

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

FOCUS

THE JULY 5 REFERENDUM
A NEW SHADOW OVER SRI LANKA

One of the last acts of ex-President Jayewardene before he gave up office was to fix July 5, 1989 as the new date for the Referendum in the Eastern Province, a referendum which is meant to decide whether the Northern, Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka should remain permanently merged. Originally, the referendum was to have been held on December 31 1988. The relevant clauses under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 29 July, 1987 were as follows:–

2.3. There will be a referendum on or before December 31 1988 to enable the people of the Eastern Province to decide whether:
a) The Eastern Province should remain linked with the Northern Province as one administrative unit, and continue to be governed together with the Northern Province as specified in Para 2.2, or
b) The Eastern Province should constitute a separate administrative unit having its own distinct Provincial Council with a separate Governor, Chief Minister and Board of Ministers.

The President may, at his discretion, decide such a referendum.

Clause 2.1 says:–
(the two signatories) resolve that – since the Government of Sri Lanka proposes to permit adjoining provinces to join to form one administrative unit and also by referendum to separate as **may** *be permitted to the Northern and Eastern provinces . . . . . (emphasis ours)*

In the absence of any announcement of further postponement of the referendum by the new President Mr. Premadasa, this has become a subject of major controversy among all sections of opinion in Sri Lanka. Will this be the flashpoint for a new cataclysm and a new orgy of violence in the Island? TAMIL TIMES presents here a wide spectrum of opinion on the subject :–

THE GOVERNMENT VIEW

'We cannot divide the country into pieces'

'We will adhere strictly to the terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord. A referendum will be held on the date specified by the President Mr. R. Premadasa, on the question of whether the North and East should remain a merged province. The United National Party will not support a canton system in the North and East. We cannot divide the country into pieces which will be the outcome of a canton system, with the Muslims ruling their regions and the Tamils ruling theirs.'

– ***Ranjan Wijeratne, Minister of Foreign Affairs and General Secretary of the ruling United National Party***

SRI LANKA MUSLIM CONGRESS

'We are for merger with separate Muslim Council'

'Everything depends on what the government wants. If it wants peace, it can have peace. If it wants bloodshed it can have bloodshed. If it wants to precipitate violence it can precipitate violence. We are working not only to win the rights of the muslim community but also to cooperate with all parties concerned in order to restore peace.

'The mere fact that our solution is within the framework of a permanent merger itself should satisfy to a great extent the aspirations of the Tamils. The Muslims are not prepared to be dominated either by the Tamils or Sinhalese. The government cannot hold the referendum or an election expecting the voters to return the result it wants. The government must be ready to accept the electoral realities and the wishes of the people. The SLMC feels that the Indo-Lanka Accord should be revised so as to dispense with the referendum. Otherwise, we fear it will be impossible to prevent bloodshed.

'If the referendum is not held and a Muslim majority council is not granted it will mean that the Tamils want to dominate the Muslims. On the other hand, if the referendum is held and the provinces separated, the Muslims would fear Sinhala domination.

'We are against the referendum, but that does not mean the Tamils can force us to support a permanent merger. The SLMC wants a Muslim majority council within the framework of a merged north and east.

'Whether it be Tamils or Sinhalese, if they fail to understand the language of peace then one should not blame the Muslim community resorting to an alternative language.'

EROS/EDF VIEW

'If there is a referendum, may God help . . .

'If it was to be only a referendum, why was a clause giving the President discretionary power to postpone it included in the Indo-Lanka accord? Why that clause if it was sacrosanct that a referendum be held within a year? The fact is that those who were responsible for the accord had in mind the necessity of this clause in order not to create more unnecessary tragedies. And it'll be a supreme folly if by some means or other one believes that there will be peace and normalcy when this merged Tamil homeland is undone.

'We say that on principle, the referendum is not necessary. If you want to have it, ask the people in the entire north-east, not only the east. The referendum itself is in the accord because some mandarins in Delhi thought it was worthwhile. Not a single Tamil leader worth his name could have signed an accord which had such provision in it.

'We feel the accord was a beginning. It brought some respite. It also enabled the Tamil people to put up a new generation of Tamil leadership. So there are positive sides to it. But let's not undo this by insisting on implementing the accord in toto.

'If some of these leaders are stupid enough to push for the referendum, God help the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The options are very clear.. Either they can encourage the trend where the Tamil groups have turned towards the democratic path even though they don't have much hope as such, but are still willing to work a way out, or they can drive them all back to say that we are never part of this nation . . . '

– ***Shankar Raji, spokesman for the Eelavar Democratic Front (EDF), political wing of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS)***

EPRLF VIEW

'We have no wish to dominate another minority'

'We Tamils have been a dominated minority and we know what it is like. Therefore we have no wish to dominate another minority in the same manner. If the Northern and Eastern provinces are merged it will mean that certain concessions will have to be made towards the minority Muslims of the Eastern province. The Muslim community today, especially Muslim youth, want a separate identity which is different from that of Tamil-speaking people. we recognise the need and are willing to work out a framework that would pro-

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

vide ways and means for the Muslims in the East to realise their aspirations.

'The Muslim community in the Eastern province is concentrated in pockets such as Oddamavadi, Eravur, and Kathankudy within Tamil-majority areas. In trying to include the separate Muslim identity within the Eastern province, we are willing to look at ideas such as the Swiss cantons system or the administration of the Union Territory of Pondicherry in India as models to work on. This would mean that the pockets of Muslim communities would join to form a Muslim adminstrative structure within the framework of the provincial council system. Whatever the concessions given to Muslims, I think it is necessary to work within the Indo-Sri Lanka peace accord which requires that the Northern and Eastern provinces be merged to form one province.'

– ***Sam Thambimuttu, EPRLF member of Parliament, Batticaloa***

SLMP VIEW

'Postpone referendum till December'

'A postponement (of the referendum) until December is desirable, because it is in keeping with the spirit, though not the strict letter, of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord to give the newly constituted North-Eastern Provincial Council government time to consolidate itself. If the referendum is postponed indefinitely or put off repeatedly, then the JVP will thrive. In any case, even Lenin advocated a referendum as best device to democratically ascertain the wishes of the people of a given locality as concerns arrangements which are to do with the Nationalities question.

'Even if the referendum is held in December, the materials that render the north-east highly inflammable still remain, because these are questions of demography and the ethnic consciousness which cannot be solved in a time span of one or even a few years.

'The greatly belated recognition by the Tamil organisations of the specifity of the Muslim identity and the concomitant necessity for sub-unit devolution (autonomous areas) for the Muslim people of the East is most welcome . . . The only solution is perhaps to remove as much as possible of the aforementioned 'inflammable material'. The way to do this is by re-drawing the boundaries of the North-East in such a manner that the Sinhala-majority are excised. These areas in Vavuniya can be attached to Anuradhapura, those such as Seruwila to Polonnaruwa, and as was suggested in the Chidambaram proposals of December 1986, Ampara should be excluded from the merged province. . . .'

– ***Dayan Jayatilleka, who resigned recently as Minister in the North-East provincial govt. in a letter to EPRLF leader P.Padmanabha.***

SLFP VIEW

'Merger will be unfair by other provinces'

'The merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces should be examined in the light of the Indo-Lanka peace accord. Since the signing of the peace accord Sri Lankan politics has become Indian politics. Sri Lanka was forced to sign the accord which now serves only the interests of India. The accord has not been in the interests of any Sri Lankan. In fact, everyone has been against it. The trouble in the south has grown out of the accord. The people in the North are still searching for a stable peace. The LTTE and the JVP are both against the accord because it serves only the interests of India . . . Moreover, I believe that if the Northern and eastern provinces are merged it will be unfair by other provinces. The Northern and Eastern provinces together contain a third of the entire land mass of the country and two-thirds of its coastline. Apart from that, it will also include five of the island's ten fisheries harbours.'

– ***Mahinda Wijesekera, SLFP MP, Matara***

NSSP STAND

'Merger should be permanent without referendum'

'From the beginning we have been against this kind of referendum. We believe that the North and East should be merged permanently. A referendum must be held (after the provincial government has functioned to its fullest capacity for over a year) among the Sinhalese and the Muslims. They can then decide whether they want to remain in the merged Northern-eastern province or whether they want to be affiliated to another province. They cannot decide whether the Tamils in the North and East must live seperately or together. That is not their right. That the Tamils can sort out amongst themselves.

'We have always said this, and still maintain it. Other countries have worked things out on this basis, especially countries like Belgium where enclaved villages are governed from outside the province in which they are situated. Take the Maldive Islands, which has an area of 385 square miles. It consists of 1200 islands governed from Male, the capital, which is over a mile by sea from some islands.

'A sense of identity is essential to any human being . . . The Tamil identity overides the differences between the different groups of Tamils in Sri lanka. Making use of the dissensions between the Tamils of the North and the East to split the Tamils is something we are opposed to . . . '

– ***Dr. Wickramabahu Karunaratne, General Secretary Nava Sama Samaja Party***

YOGA & CO.

For all your legal work and conveyancing

Solicitors & Administrators of Oaths

47 Booth Road, Colindale, London NW9 5JS
Telephone: 01-205 0899

FAMOUS PLAYBACK SINGER A.M. RAJA DEAD

A.M. RAJA (58), noted playback singer died in a nursing home in Valliyoor, S. India, on 8.4.89 following a fall from a moving train at the Valliyoor railway station. Mr. Raja was travelling for a performance when one of the members of his troupe had been left behind at Tirunelveli. After sending one of his party members to fetch the stranded musician, he went to board the train, when he slipped and fell down.

Architectural & Planning Services

Comprehensive architectural and planning services are offered to suit individual and collective client's requirements.

Please write or telephone for more details from:

A. SITHAMPARAPILLAI
Chartered Architect & Urban Designer

69 Lyme Farm Road,
Lee Green, London SE12 8JQ
Telephone: 01-318 0820

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

JAYAWARDENE'S DAMAGING CONTRIBUTION

Part II

Dr Brian Senewiratne

Damage done to the electoral system

The greatest damage that Jayawardene has done to democracy in Sri Lanaka is to the electoral process. Pre and post election violence has been a feature of the Sri Lankan political scene for the past two decades but it is during Jayawardene's regime and under his sponsorship, that the degree of intimidation at the polls has cast serious doubts on the results. Reference has already been made to the 1982 Referendum where some 2.4 million people (30% of the electorate) could not even get to the polls because of government sponsored hooliganism. If this is added to the 39% who were able to register a dissenting vote, then the government which obtained 3.1 million votes (only 38% of the registered voters) had lost the Referendum and Jayawardene ruled between 1982 snd 1989 without a mandate from the people.

The 1988 Presidential election and the 1989 general election show a continuation of the same phenomenon. In both elections, the level of voter intimidation and what is more important, selective intimidation in areas where the Opposition support was high and extensive ballot rigging, have cast serious doubts on the validity of both results. The line taken by the government was that the JVP was responsible for this violence. Although it is true that in late 1987 and early 1988 the violence was by the JVP, there is considerable doubt as to whether in the immediate pre-election period, the JVP was responsible for some of the violence. It has been alleged that President Premadasa was himself responsible for sponsoring some of this so-called 'JVP violence'. Were it not so, it is difficult to explain the sudden and abrupt halt to the violence after Premadasa's victory was announced in mid-December 1988. Even more significant was the restart of violence with the murder of over a dozen SLFP candidates immediately before the General Election in mid-February 1989. The clear beneficiaries of this violence were Premadasa and the UNP since the intimidation of voters was mainly in areas which have traditionally supported Mrs. Bandaranaike and the SLFP. If the JVP was in fact responsible for this violence, then after the Presidential election and more so after the General Election, there would have been an explosion of violence, which in fact did not occur. There are unanswered questions about who really was responsible for the violence attributed to the JVP which ensured Premadasa's election, which the new president must address if he is to clear his name and that of the UNP. They are similar to those that Jayawardene has to answer regarding the July 1983 massacre of Tamils.

Today, the electoral process in Sri Lanka has degenerated to the level of the Phillipines in the Marcos era. Not even the presence of foreign observers (several were present during the 1989 general election) deterred the vote riggers and hoodlums, such was the degree of government sponsorship. Jayawardene and the party machinery he established are clearly responsible for this serious situation that may well be irreversible. It denies the people of Sri Lanka the democratic right which they have enjoyed for over 50 years to vote for the politicians of their choice. The 1988 Presidential Election and the 1989 General Election were rigged to such an extent that it makes it almost impossible for the people of Sri Lanka to change their government or the head of state by democratic methods. It would therefore not come as a surprise if sections of the populace resort to violent and undemocratic methods. If such an unfortunate event is to occur, the responsibility must rest with Jayawardene and the legacy of electoral rigging he has left behind.

Strangling the media. Violating the freedom of expression. Intimidating the Trade Unions.

In 1970, Jayawardene, then in Opposition was rightly critical of Mrs. Bandaranaike's infamous Press Council law which brought the press under government control.

Under Jayawardene, the intimidation and control of the media dwarfed Mrs Bandaranaike's performance. There was not only an absolute censorship within Sri Lanka but there was the strictest control of news allowed out of Sri Lanka. Opposition presses were frequently closed and printing equipment destroyed by government-sponsored hoodlums. Tamil opinion was suppressed to the point of extinction. In addition to government press censorship, there was a self imposed censorship by newspaper editors who wanted to keep their offices open and by foreign newsmen who wanted to remain in Sri Lanka.

Public and even private meetings which questioned what was going on in Sri Lanka could not be held because of government directed hooliganism. A single case of the scores that have occurred will illustrate the level of intimidation. In 1982, Professor Ediriweera Sarathchandra, a distinguished Sinhalese dramatist, a former ambassador and the first Chairman of the Sri Lankan Civil Rights Movement, was about to address a public meeting on the decay in moral values caused by government action. JSS hoodlums led by one of Jayawardene's Ministers broke up the meeting and assaulted Professor Sarathchandra. A complaint to the police was ignored.

Later that year, the same hooligans broke up a meeting of the Buddhist and Christian clergy, the 'Voice of the Clergy', who opposed President Jayawardene's proposed Referendum. Later, the police seized pamphlets and closed the press belonging to this group. A Buddhist monk who was at the receiving end of this thuggery petitioned the Supreme Court that his civic rights had been violated. The Court awarded him damages and recommended disciplinary action against the police officer who had acted in this unconstitutional manner. The government decided to pay the fine from government coffers and insulted the Supreme Court by promoting the police officer. President Jayawardene later conceded that he had personally ordered this action.

Jayawardene has been responsible for a serious violation of the legitimate rights of trade unions. In September 1978 some 17 trade unions called for a one day general strike for various benefits. The government directed the private sector to treat all employees absenting themselves as having vacated their posts and decided to do the same for those in the government sector. Over a thousand workers were dismissed in an unprecedented action which was a clear violation of Convention Number 87 of the International Labour Organisation of which Sri Lanka is a member. Many of these workers were never reinstated.

Conducting a campaign of State terrorism

Jayawardene's handling of the ethnic problem in general and of the Tamil people in particular, has been characterised by so much dishonesty and inhumanity that it will make it almost impossible for any other Sinhalese leader to win the confidence of the Tamil people.

In the run up to the 1977 elections, he led the Tamils to believe that he alone of the Sinhalese leaders recognised their problems and if elected to power, would have an All Party Conference to address their problems. Having got into power (with Tamil support), he declared war on the Tamils. 'If they want war, they will get war'. was his offer to a bewildered minority already the victims of post-election Sinhalese hoodlum violence. It took six years and a massacre of the

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

Tamils before Jayawardene decided to hold the Conference. When he did (1984), it was an exercise to buy time to strengthen his weak Security Forces so that he could embark on a military solution to the Tamil protests.

It was in 1983 that the Tamils in Colombo , who have always supported Jayawardene, witnessed to their horror, the complete disregard Jayawardene has for Tamil lives. For four terrifying days while armed Sinhalese gangs roamed Colombo dragging innocent Tamils out of their homes and butchering them, Jayawardene, their President, remained silent. There was not a word from the Head of State to his Security Forces or the Police to maintain law and order. When after four days of deafening silence the President did finally address the nation, there was not a word of sympathy for the devastated Tamil people who had little to do with the violence of their kinsmen in the North. His apology was to the Sinhalese people for the inconvenience caused!

1984 saw Jayawardene perpetrate his biggest confidence trick on the Tamils. Initiating an All Party Conference supposedly to solve the ethnic conflict, in reality he embarked on a massive build up of the Sri Lankan military machine. He dragged out the Conference for a whole year during which he actually left Sri Lanka to seek military assistance to crush the Tamils. Recruiting thousands into the Armed Forces and spending millions of taxpayers money (including Tamil taxpayers' money) he put into operation a ruthless assault on the Tamils of the North and East. He cut off food and medical supplies to the North and even ordered the troops to bomb parts of the country of which he was the President. Hundreds died, thousands were rendered homeless and the damage done to property was extensive. With this massive state terrorism unleashed on the Tamil people of the North whose elected representatives he sacked from parliament, Jayawardene abdicated his right to be President of all Sri Lanka. The Jayawardene-directed State terrorism from 1983 to 1988 has convinced many Tamils who previously had no interest in a Separate Tamil State, that such a State is the only possible answer. If there is any one individual who can be held responsible for the determinatiion of the Tamils to establish Eelam, it must be Jayawardene.

Jayawardene's final deception was the 1987 Agreement with Rajiv Gandhi. He made the Tamils believe that their much sought after merger of the Northern and Eastern Province, the Tamil homeland, was granted. He then slipped in a Referendum which would undo the merger! In an amazing attempt to face two opposite directions at the same time, Jayawardene agreed to the merger of the Northern Province and the Eastern Province and even before the Agreement was signed, assured his parliamentary group that he was opposed to the merger and had no doubt that it would be dissolved by the Referendum! Jayawardene's double talk and deception have not only damaged his attempt, if indeed it was an attempt to solve the ethnic problem, but what is more serious, have destroyed the chance of any other Sinhalese leader being taken seriously by the Tamils.

There are those that feel that Jayawardene should be charged as a war criminal for breaching internationally accepted laws of armed conflict. There is, however, little that the international community can, or more realistically would, do. It is for the Sri Lankans to initiate an inquiry into the abuse of power of their (former) Head of State, as the Filipinos have, and take the necessary action.

Goading India and bringing discredit to India and the Indian Prime Minister

Jayawardene took the Sinhalese-Tamil conflict which was essentially a domestic dispute and internationalised it in a manner that was likely to upset India. He invited the Israeli Mossad, the British SAS and the Pakistanis, who had no quarrel with the Tamils and unleashed them in Jaffna. The strategy was clear – it was to goad India by inviting countries that were hostile to India to establish themselves militarily in Sri Lanka on the vulnerable southern flank of India. By doing so he sucked India into the conflict which has landed India in a quagmire from which she may not be able to extract herself with dignity. The image of India has had a battering and it is Jayawardene who is responsible. A much respected regional power on whose stability the security of south-east Asia depends, has been reduced to the level of the United State in Nicaragua.

Jaywardene has repeatedly insulted and ridiculed the Indian Prime Minister but when he found that Rajiv Gandhi was sufficiently naive to take over his battle, he suddenly became his friend and got Gandhi involved in an unwinnable war. By doing so, he has all but destroyed Gandhi's political future.

Jayawardene has been responsible for enormous damage done to the Indian army. He insisted on having the Indian army sent to Sri Lanka for 'peace keeping' under his command. He then misused his power and turned a 'Peace Keeping Force' into a 'Disarming Force', giving the Indian Army an impossiblle task. Hundreds of Indians lives and millions of Indian rupees have been lost, thanks to the deception, dishonesty and unscrupulousness of Jayawardene.

Damage done to the economy

Jayawardene started well by promoting economic growth. He advocated industrialisation by invitation to foreign investors ('the Singapore model')

But then he went on a borrowing spree, gradually dismantling the welfare state to satisfy his masters in the World Bank. The Sri Lankan welfare state had been built up over some 50 years and had won many accolades for providing some protection for the working classes and impoverished peasantry. Throwing in his lot with the ulra-right policies of the US, Great Britain, West Germany and Japan, Jayawardene set the Sri Lankan economy on a disaster course. He has blamed the Tamil militants for the down turn in the economy but a closer scrutiny reveals that the economy was put into reverse gear long before the Tamil militants stepped up their campaign against the government.

Bribery and Corruption

With the self-conferred powers of a dictator, Jayawardene must be held responsible for the epidemic of bribery and corruption that has engulfed Sri Lanka. With few exceptions, everyone of Jayawardene's Ministers and Junior Ministers has been guilty of massive corruption. Four houses and an apple farm in Australia provides visible evidence of the invisible movement of money by one of Jayawardene's senior ministers, reputedly one of the richest men in Asia. Millions of dollars of foreign aid have been spirited away by Jayawardene's ministers who have done to Sri Lanka what Marcos did to the Philippines. Jayawardene could not have been unaware of this scandalous situation which is common knowledge both in and outside Sri Lanka. Yet, he did nothing to stop his totally dishonest parliamentarians from robbing the people and the country.

Today the level of bribery and corruption at all levels of the government and government corporations is such that it is a significant factor in the high cost of living.

Jayawardene's responsibility

It might appear uncharitable to lay all the problems in Sri Lanka at Jayawardene's door but no one else can be held responsible. It is he who devalued the authority (and responsibility) of parliament and took on himself absolute power. Absolute power also carries major responsibilities which he has failed to honour. Jayawardene, despite his attempt to immortalise himself by naming a town, Jayawardhanapura, after a king who had a similar name, will probably go down in history as the Sri Lankan Head of State who has done most damage to Sri Lanka. A decade under Jayawardene, part of which was of dubious legality, has set Sri Lanka further back than any other equivalent period in the country's history.

Continued on p.17

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

You Can Achieve Success In Higher Education

UNITY COLLEGE

Inspected and Recognised as Efficient by ARBS The association for the Recognition of Business Schools

Offers Commitment to Higher Educational Standards
Higher Qualified and Experienced Lecturers
Individual Academic Support.
Fees you can afford and Good Locational Advantages.
Enrol now for full and part–time courses in:
Accountancy and Management Studies
Association of Accounting Technicians
Association of Chartered and Certified Accountants
Institute of Cost and Management Accountants
Association of Business Executives
Institute of Administrative Management
Banking
Institute of Bankers Stage 1, Institute of Bankers Stage 2
Certificate and Foundation courses
Marketing
Institute of Marketing – Certificate/Diploma
CAM Education Foundation
Computing Courses
City & Guilds, British Computer Society
Association of Business and Administrative Computing
Institute of Date Processing Management
English as a Foreign Language
For Further details write or telephone:
UNITY COLLEGE
Admissions Department
81-89 Fortess Road
Kentish Town
London NW5 1AG
Tel: 01-482 3349

A SERIOUS ILLNESS?.. NO, IT WOULD NEVER HAPPEN TO ME! ... ARE YOU SURE ABOUT THAT?

FIMBRA MEMBER

The chances of having a heart attack or developing cancer before 65 are greater than you think

LIVING ASSURANCE PLAN
offers protection in the event of:

Heart Attack
Most Cancers
Stroke
Coronary Artery Disease Surgery
Kidney Failure
Permanent Disability before age 60

Not only does Living Assurance provide a lump sum benefit on the first of three events:serious illness, permanent disability and death but the plan can acquire a cash value.

For personal service Ring or Write to

P. SRINIVASAN

(Over 15 years experience in serving Sri Lankan clientele)
Licensed by the Office of Fair Trading
1524 London Road, London SW16 4EU
Telephone:01-679 1952/3

Continued from p.9

violated not only the ordinary norms of civilised habit but also a basic injunction of Islam with the call to murder a human being.

The Holy Quran says: 'We decreed for the children of Israel that whosoever killeth a human being for other than manslaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind and whosoever saveth the life of one, it shall be as if he has saved the life of all mankind' (5:32)

That epitomises the reverence for life Islam seeks to inculcate.

The SLMC, perhaps is not aware of the revulsion in Muslim quarters in many parts of the world to Ayatollah K's reprehensible murder-call.That will not provide grit to their political mill.

A disciple of the Ayatollah, Ayatollah Jelal Genjehai has accused his master of 'violating the fundamental teachings of Islam' inside Iran, and described the sentence on Rushdie as 'another case of this kind of violation.'

Worse, In the disciple's judgement, Ayatollah K is not a Muslim – a dose of the master's medicine!

From Sunni Islam's highest theological centre has come a more balanced, enlightened response. Sheikh Gad Al-Haq has appealed to Muslim intellectuals to write a book refuting the ideas presented in Satanic Verses.

Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto has accused fundamentalists of engineering riots over the book in order to topple her fledgling government. In Iran, too, the wily Ayatollah is using the book to fight back Montazeri, Rafsomjani and others who want the old, discredited policies which sullied the image of Iran to be jettisoned.

That was exactly what the founder of the Aligarh movement, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan did exactly 120 years ago when Sir William Muir's Life of Mohammed, widely considered to be derogatory of the Prophet, appeared.

GH Jansen (Militant Islam) wrote: 'It is personalities and policies like those of the Ayatollah that give a bad name not just to militant Islam but to Islam as a whole.'

I have no grouse against the SLMC or any political party. But, cry halt to the abuse of religion for your political ambitions.

Heinrich Heine said: 'Those who burn books will also afterwards burn people' – Now, those who mix religion with politics do not hesitate to murder authors!

Al Shafi
Dematagoda Road
Colombo 9

IPKF MEN KILLED

MASSIVE OPERATION FOLLOWS

At least 25 men, including officers, belonging to the Indian Peace Keeping Force were killed in two separate attacks mounted by the LTTE on 4 April at Mankulam and Oddusuddan in the northern Vavuniya district.

In both incidents, troops travelling in armoured personnel carriers became victims of powerful landmines planted by the LTTE. The vehicles were destroyed in the explosion and those who attempted to escape were gunned down by LTTE men waiting in ambush.

Following the incidents, the IPKF launched a massive military operation with reinforcments rushed in from the Puliyankulam and Nedunkerni camps. While Indian artillery pounded suspected LTTE positions, helicopters of the Indian Air Force were used to strafe the area which, according to local reports, left several civilians dead and hundreds fleeing from their homes.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

Colvin — a giant among intellectuals

by Joe Segera

Gifted men are often ahead of their generation. They are in so much of a hurry to accomplish their mission in life that the wise are bewildered and the half-witted misunderstand them. Dr Colvin R de Silva who bestrode this country with his commanding figure, was a giant among intellectuals, a luminary among lawyers and a visionary par excellence in politics.

His 83 fruitful years was evidence of a life spent in the service of humanity. As a trade union leader and a politician Colvin was a humanitarian – a lover of his fellowmen especially the poor and the down-trodden whose cause he espoused for half a century risking life and limb.

The great thing about him was that when he believed what was right he stood by it to the very end. He never wavered in his belief that Marx tempered with Trotsky was right.

Along with his two comrades in arms, N.M. Perera and Philip Gunawardena, he was in the thick of the battle, be it the Wellawatte Mills strike, the Bracegirdle case, the championing of the case of the cold-blooded killing of a plantation worker in the Mooloya incident and a host of other struggles involving the working people of this country.

When he returned from England with a doctorate and a licence from Lincoln's Inn to practise law, the young man from Balapitiya had a whole world of opportunities open before him.

Having listened to him in a Huftsdorp courtroom one day, the then Attorney-General, Mr JWR Illangakoon had invited the young barrister to his chambers and offered the then much sought-after job of Crown Counsel which he declined to accept. Very much in the manner of the missionary who throws everything aside to seek the kingdom of God, Colvin chose the path of a revolutionary to win heaven on earth for the workers.

It is this facet of his many-splendoured life that brought him into conflict with the British colonial government.

Arrested by the British as an enemy of the State, Colvin R de Silva along with N.M. Perera, Philip Gunawardena, Robert Gunawardena, and Edmund Samarakkody were imprisoned in Kandy. With the help of Vernon Gunasekara, the LSSP's first General Secretary and its finest pamphleteer and Chief Jailor Neville de La Motte, the detainees broke jail and escaped to India.

Hunted by the police in India the detainees were arrested in Bombay. The one man who was never arrested was Colvin, the Scarlet Pimpernel.

As a lawyer he had few peers in this country. When he stood up to argue a case, he was courtesy personified to judge and jury. With his flawless oratory and reverberating voice, he never sought to throw his immense weight around. Judge and jury were virtually mesmerised by this maestro who could verily be compared to the great Marshall Hall of the English Bar. Sometime in the late fifties, the celebrated English lawyer, DN Pritt who went round the world arguing cases, was in Sri Lanka to appear for a client here.

It was well past midnight when he arrived in his room at the Mount Lavinia Hotel from the airport. I gingerly walked up to him and sought an interview. Looking tired and sleepy, Mr Pritt's first reaction was 'I don't know why our people retain me when you have my friend Colvin here'

That, I thought, was the finest tribute paid to Colvin R de Silva's intellectual and forensic skill.

Pin-drop

His role in the political life of this country is a chapter which carries the sheen of gold. When he walked into the chamber of Parliament everybody looked up wondering on which subject he would hold them spell-bound. And when he spoke there was pin-drop silence.

Those dragging sentences which made his audience keep their ears tuned as if they were listeneing to a concerto or musical composition were his hall-mark.

It was during the debate on the Sinhala Only Bill, that Colvin, the orator was at his very best. It was well past midnight when he rose to speak in a parliament closed to the public and open only to the press.

The opening words of that speech are still fresh in the memory of those who were privileged to listen to him. Virtually shivering with emotion, Dr Colvin R de Silva, Member for Wellawatte-Galkissa said, "Mr Speaker, I speak to eyeless, earless galleries . . . " Pleading the case for not resorting to a measure that would divide the country, he uttered this memorable phrase which sounds so prophetic today, "Two languages one nation: One language two nations".

Dream

As a historian, he stood in the very forefront with Father S.G. Perera and Dr. G.C. Mendis. His monumental work, 'Ceylon under the British occupation', is still the standard work on the subject. Research scholars at London University's School of Asian and African Studies make it a compulsory reading. At King's College, London they mention his name with reverence as one of the youngest scholars who won a doctorate.

In an age when this country needs men of intellect and wide horizons, who will rise above racial, caste and religious barriers, the loss of leaders of the like of Colvin R de Silva is immeasurable.

He died a dreamer with his dream unfulfilled. That dream was poetically expressed by W.S. Senior, "when the races all have blended . . .

Continued from p.13

Nobel Prize

After the 1987 Jayawardene-Gandhi Agreement, the Chairman of the US Senate Pacific Subcommittee put up Jayawardene (and Rajiv Gandhi) for a Nobel Prize. Puzzled observers with better understanding of Sri Lanka than the US Senator, questioned whether this was US recognition of the mess into which the signatories of the Accord had landed India. Justice Krishna Iyer, a former judge of the Indian Supreme Court and the Opposition candidate for the Presidency of India, commented that 'if a Nobel prize is given for such a midget performance, people will in future refuse to accept Nobel Prizes!' Needless to say, the Nobel Committee did not accept the US Senator's recommendation.

Let alone be awarded the Nobel Prize, when Sri Lanka's history comes to be written, Jayawardene will probably be described as the Head of State who has done the greatest damage, not just to the ethnic conflict and Sri Lanka, but to the very fabric of Sri Lankan society. He has turned a relatively non-violent society into one of extreme violence, he has replaced the rule of law by the rule of the armed hoodlum, he has dismantled democracy, reduced parliament and the judiciary to a joke, permitted corruption and dishonesty in parliamentarians and senior bureaucrats to an unprecedented degree, been guilty of serious human rights violations committed on a section of his people, created economic chaos that will take years to reverse and set Sri Lanka on what can only be described as a suicidal course. His successor will not have an easy task undoing in 6 years or even 25 years, the damage that Jayawardene has done in 11 years of disastrous rule.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

NEWS IN BRIEF NEWS IN BRIEF NEWS IN BRIEF NEWS IN BRIEF NEW

● **THE FORMER** Vice Chancellor of the Colombo University, Prof. Stanley Wijesundera, was shot dead in his first floor office at 'College House', Thurstan Road in Colombo at 10.30am on 8 March. The yet unidentified gunman had walked into the professor's office and opened fire at point-blank range and Mr. Wijesundera died on the spot.

The murder of the professor within the university precincts has sent shockwaves of terror throughout the university establishment and students alike. (Readers will recall that an appreciation on the late Prof. S. Vithianandan written by Mr. Wijesundera was published in TAMIL TIMES of February '89).

● **THE DPLF** (political wing of PLOTE) which failed to win a single seat in the general election held on February 15 in a statement said, 'Our position has been rejected and the Tamil people have accepted the stand of those who maintain that the accord (Indo-Sri Lanka) guarantees the rights of the Tamil people'. The DPLF however believed that its rejection of the Accord and opposition to the presence of the Indian troops in Sri Lanka would be vindicated in the long run.

● **THE CREATION** of a new Ministry for the protection of the Buddha Sasana was a genuine effort to revive Buddhism and a signal honour to the vast Buddhist Majority in Sri Lanka. President Premadasa had followed in the footsteps of ancient kings by giving Buddhism its due place. It was the first time a Ministry for the Buddha Sasana had been set up since 1915, Mr. Neranjan Wijeratne, Diyawadane Nilame of the Sri Dalada Maligawa in Kandy, said in a special statement.

● **DR.S. CHANDRAN FERNANDO,** brother-in-law of JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera, has filed an application in the Supreme Court alleging that his fundamental rights guaranteed under the Sri Lanka Constitution had been violated. Several police officers including the Inspector General of Police, Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and the Attorney General have been cited as respondents.

Dr. Fernando has alleged that he was arrested on August 17 1987 for violating Emergency Regulations by participating in a demonstration on 29.7.87. but when he was released on bail by the Magistrates on 2.11.87, he was rearrested as he came out of the Court. He further alleges that he was brutally tortured while in custody and the sole reason for his arrest and custody was that he is a personal friend, physician and brother-in-law of Rohana Wijeweera.

● **THE SRI LANKA** Muslim Students Federation said in a statement that the sentence of death inposed by the Iranian leader Ayatolla Khomeini on the Indian-born British author of the controversial book, The Satanic Verses, was justifiable. The statement also condemned other Muslim countries which adopted an 'evasive stance' by simply blaming the book without concurring with the death sentence.

● **THE MEMBERS** of the State Administrative Service Association at a special general meeting passed a resolution seeking the appointment of an impartial committee to invstigate into the 'disappearance' of some of their members. As examples, they cited the case of an Assistant Land Commissioner in Moneragala who had been taken away by a gang clad in khaki uniforms on February 17 and whose dead body was found on the roadside after a few days.

● **THE SRI LANKA** Muslim Congress has urged the government not to withdraw the firearms issued to its candidates during the recently held parliamentary elections but instead to issue more forearms to its members for they still faced threats to their lives.

● **FIVE PERSONNEL** belonging to the Sri Lankan navy on foot patrol were killed on 5 March when they were ambushed and attacked by a group of Tamil militants at Palampatur off Trincomalee.

● **AN SLFP** Member of Parliament for the Colombo district, CV Gooneratne, has complained to the Inspector General of Police that he had received information that a policeman under interdiction had been entrusted with the task of killing the MP. The MP also has given details of the identity of the alleged potential assailant.

● **FOREIGN AFFAIRS** and Defence Minister, Ranjan Wijeratne issued orders on 8 March to the security forces to force open shops kept closed for fear of threats of intimidation by 'subversive groups' as the closure of shops severely affected the people. Following the directive traders in several areas were summoned to police stations and required to open their shops before they were forced open.

● **A SUB-INSPECTOR** of Police, Somapala, attached to the security division of the SLMP leader and defeated Presidential candidate, Ossie Abeygoonesekera, was shot and killed at his residence in Alawwa on 8 March. The officer concerned had gone on three days leave to his home.

● **AN ARMED MAN** entered the offices of the Malibans Biscuits Company at Ratmalana on 8 March and robbed Rs 18 lakhs after threatening him with a knife.

● **EGYPT** emerged as Sri Lanka's largest tea buyer for the second year in succession although the quantity purchased dropped from 37.7 million kilos in 1987 to 35.4 million last year. Iraq came second with 33.9 million kilos followed by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia with 19.6 million kilos. The UK's purchase was 13.2 million.

● **AN UNIDENTIFIED** armed gang entered the residence of Senaka Gunawardne, the Superintendent of Handford State Plantation in Deniyaya on 9 March at 10.30 pm and killed him by severing his head off from the rest of his body with a knife.

● **A HUSBAND** and wife, identified as Sarath Wuduge (48) and Raneeka (40) were shot dead at their residence along Kawdana Road, Dehiwela, at midnight on 10 March by two armed gunmen wearing khaki uniforms.

● **TWO LTTE** members, Chinnadurai and Sinnapodi were killed by the Citizens Volunteer Force in an exchange of fire at Keerimalai. Another LTTE local leader, Prabha was taken into custody by the IPKF, and two more were later arrested following information extracted from him.

● **AFTER** almost seven years, Tamil policemen have begun undertaking security duty at Banks in the northern Jaffna penninsula. Even the check points at the Pannai Causeway that connects mainland Jaffna and the many offshore islands and at Jaffna Hospital are being manned now by Tamil policemen. The Jaffna, Point Pedro, Valvettiturai, Kankesanthurai and Kilinochchi police stations in the Jaffna division have also been reopened.

● **CUSTOM OFFICIALS** found 120 slabs of gold weighing about 13 kilos and worth around six million rupees in an Air Lanka aircraft which flew into Katunayake airport from Dubai on 11 March. Six airline personnel have been taken into custody while a number of passengers have been interrogated.

● **THREE** Deputy Inspectors General of Police have been compulsorily retired from service by the government. The three DIGs, Percy Wijesuriya, Tilak Idamalgoda and Leo Perera are said to have earned the displeasure of the government due to the role they played during the recently held general elections.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

● **1200** suspected JVP supporters were taken into custody and detained in a large scale 'flushing out' operation by about 3000 Sri Lankan troops in the southern Matara and Akuressa areas during the weekend 11 and 12 March.

● **THIRTY-SIX** persons were detained and arms and ammunition recovered in two separate operations by security forces in Matale and Kurunegala areas on 11 March.

● **SEVENTEEN** members of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress who would form the main opposition group in the North-East Provincial Council took their oaths at the Trincomalee PC secretariat on 14 March before the governor, Nalin Seneviratne.

● **THE CHARRED** body of BR Jayasena, a clerk at the Gonapathira Sub-Post Office in the Kurunegala area, was found near a forest reserve at Deegalle. On the night of 24 February, a gang introduced themselves as army personnel came to Jayasena's home and took him away for what they described as official duty.

● **THREE ARMY** men who were on escort duty and a civilian were stabbed to death inside a State Transport Board bus at Kahatagasdigiliya on 13 March. The assailants got away with the weapons belonging to the army men. In another incident at Mahavilachchi unidentified persons fired shots at a police jeep killing a policeman and injuring four others.

● **ENGLISH** language is a 'must' for every student. It is the gateway to knowledge. No progress could be made by Tamils who are in a minority without education in English, said the Rt. Rev. Dr B Theogupillai, Bishop of Jaffna who was guest of honour at the annual prize day of the Pasaiyoor St. Antony's Girls School in Jaffna.

● **GUNAPALA Ratnayake** (45), a Sub-Post Master of Kolatenne in Bandarawela was shot dead while at work on 11 March by an unidentified gang which had arrived in a van.

● **GAMAGE NANDASIRI** (38), Secretary of the United National Party Branch at Wadduwa was shot dead on 12 March while he was inside the bakery owned by him.

● **THE NORTH-EAST** Provincial Government had given first priority to improve agriculture in the Trinocomalee area and for that purpose a concerted effort had to be made by all officers involved in agriculture, said A.Varatharaja Perumal, Chief Minister, when he inaugurated a seminar on 'Agricultural Extension and Agrarian Services' held at the Social Services Centre at Trincomalee on 12 March.

● **THE DEAD** body of sixty-five year old M Sabaratnam, the Secretary of the Karainagar Citizens Committee was found with gun shot wounds near a school on 11 March. He had been forcibly taken away a few days earlier by a group of unidentified people.

● **POLICE** rounded up 35 suspected 'subversives' at Ratmalana on 12 March and were reported to have recovered a large haul of arms and ammunition.

● **NINE TAMIL** persons were apprehended on 12 March off the northern coast of Jaffna and Mannar by the Indian navy. Six were taken into custody off Jaffna while three were apprehended off Mannar.

Continued from p.7

weapon by Minister Kannappan, but he was apparently pushed aside even as he tried to throw it towards Ms Jayalalitha.

Other Ministers like Dorai Murugan, Veerapandi Arumugam and Arcot Veerasamy also joined the fray using their proximity to Ms Jayalalitha's seat to their advantage.

Variety of missiles

The several volumes of budget documents that had been tabled in the House came in handy for the members to hurl at each other, though most of them flying in from the DMK side zeroed in towards Ms Jayalalitha. There were also fisticuffs as some DMK and AIADMK members slugged it out. One DMK member even tried to bring the Assembly secretary's chair crashing down on AIADMK heads but failed in the attempt. Chappals also flew down towards the opposition front bench from the VIP galleries above where some DMK MPs and leaders were seated.

Moopanar hit

Caught in the cross-fire were Congress-I members including Mr. Moopanar, who also became a target of the DMK attack. Mr. Moopanar, who had not stirred from his seat, found budget document books and chappals landing on him, as DMK men vented their fury on the Congress-I also. Party members like Peter Alphonse and PV Rajendran rushed towards the first row to assist Mr Kumari Ananthan and whip SR Balasubramaniam in protecting Mr Moopanar.

At one stage Minister Arumugam, who appeared to be injured, could be seen with his head in a red stained bandage and his shirt too stained red, after apparently being hit by a broken mike thrown by an AIADMK member. One AIADMK member Annanambi collapsed for a short while holding his head and chest. Intermittently, former Speaker Pandian could be heard even above the general din of shouts, using expletives against Ms Jayalalitha.

She was in tears

Ms Jayalalitha, who all this while was hemmed in by her party men trying to protect her and the DMK men trying to attack her, was finally extricated from the melee with great difficulty. She was virtually in tears as she was escorted in a crouched posture by Mr Thirunavukkarasu and Mr Ramachandran down the aisle on her way out of the House.

With her exit the violence lost its vigour and finally died down as the rest of her partymen also withdrew from the House. Though the violence had ended, the confrontation had not. The Congress-I and DMK members were shouting at each other and Mr Pandian was also contributing to the decibel level.

Calm, however, descended when the Congress-I members led by Mr Moopanar also left the House, while Assembly ministerial staff assisted by the watch and ward staff removed books, mikes, chappals, pads and torn bits of what had been budget speech copies.

Cong-I walk out

The House reconvened around 11.45 and even before Mr Karunandidhi could commence reading the budget speech, Mr Moopanar and Mr Ananthan sought to raise points of order on the violence. This was disallowed by the Speaker.

Mr Moopanar then led his partymen in a walk-out. The lone ICP member K Nanjappan also joined the walk-out.

PHILOMIN & CO.
SOLICITORS

For all Legal Services and Conveyancing
Legal Aid Work Undertaken

109 Bell Street,
Marylebone,
London NW1 6TL
Telephone: 01-723 3018

Mariampillai Philomin
LL.B., MBIM

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

STAR NIGHT

MUSIC – DANCE – COMEDY

(TAMIL & MALAYALAM)

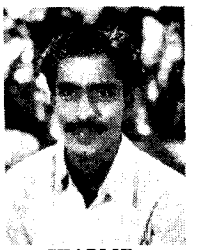
PRESENTED BY

SIV RAJ ENTERPRISES
VERANDAH RESTAURANT

MANO

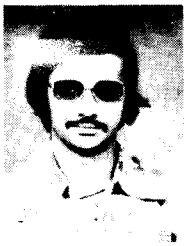
PANDIARAJAN

SULAKSHANA

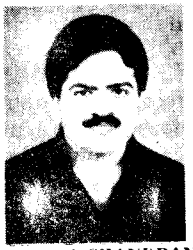

CHARLIE

JAMUNARANI

KURTHIKA


Y.G. MAHENDRAN

MURTHY


KRISHNA CHANDRAN

MANIMALA

HEMA

YOGESWARAN

Music: JAMUNA RANI, KRISHNA CHANDRAN, MANO, HEMA, YOGESWARAN

Dance: Cine Artiste: KURTHIKA (Late T.S.Baliah's daughter)

Comedy Skit: PANDIARAJAN, Y.G. MAHENDRAN, MURTHY, CHARLIE, SULAKSHANA & MANIMALA

Miming & Monoacting by CHARLIE

QUESTION TIME & AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION

Tickets: £8: £10: £15 (Limited) (Reserved) (Seats available); **Children under 12 years: £5**

Bookings will be taken with Barclaycard, Access & American Express

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Siv-Raj Enterprises	01-767 8201/7959
Verandah Restaurant	01-659 1185
Shankar & Co	01-427 2269
6 Kumars	01-471 5742
Siva Pillai	01-464 3087

STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN FOR ORDERLY CONDUCT OF THE SHOW

On FRIDAY 5th MAY 1989 at 6.30pm

Venue: CENTRAL HALL, Storey's Gate, Westminster, London SW1

Verandah
A TASTE OF PARADISE
Oriental Restaurant
150 High Street, Penge,
London SE20 7EU

WINE & DINE with the STARS

on 2nd, 3rd & 4th May 1989 – 7pm-11pm

Adults: £15, Children under 12: £5

inclusive of a sumptuous meal, wines and live music.

BOOK EARLY TO AVOID DISAPPOINTMENT

Tel: 01-659 1185

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

Rasanayagam's "Ancient Jaffna"; A critical Reading

SACHI SRI KANTHA

One of the most quoted but mis-cited history books in Sri Lanka for the past decade was Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam's work entitled, "Ancient Jaffna, being a research into the History of Jaffna from very early times to the Portuguese Period." This 390-page book was published in 1926, by Everymans Publishers Ltd, Madras. Due to its cited controversial opinion that "the Sinhalese had occupied Jaffna before the Tamils", it gained popularity among upstart historians as well as racially-biased journalists and politicians. In the Sri Lankan parliament, UNP politicians Nissanka Wijeratne, E. L. Senanayake and their cohorts had quoted Rasanayagam umpteen times to ridicule the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

I also have a 34-page book with the title, "Jaffna and the Sinhala Heritage" (printed by M. D. Gunasena & Co. Colombo, 1984), authored by one E. T. Kannangara who cites Rasanayagam's work with selective amnesia. The queries normally raised in an inquisitive Tamil mind are,

1) Is it true that Rasanayagam wrote about the occupation of Jaffna by Sinhalese ahead of Tamils?

2) On what substantive evidence, the author of "Ancient Jaffna" made this controversial inference?

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Mononmani Sanmugadas, who is presently engaged in linguistic research on the relationship between Tamil and Japanese languages in collaboration with Prof. Susumu Ohno, at the Gakushuin University, Tokyo, I had a chance to read this work by Mudaliyar Rasanayagam. In this article, I wish to share the impressions I got after reading this historical work.

The 390-page book is divided into eight chapters. These are:

1) The Nagas
2) The Kalingas
3) Foreign Trade and Intercourse
4) Ancient Civilization
5) Foreign Trade and Intercourse (contd.)
6) Sources and Synchronisms
7)Origin of the Kings of Jaffna
8) The Arya Kings of Jaffna

In the preface, the author described the motives for his work. To quote Rasanayagam, "This little volume is the unexpected result of an attempt to compile a school history of Jaffna. Almost unperceived my reading took me far a field, and led me to conclusions often directly opposed to the views hitherto generally accepted. I have thought it proper therefore to publish some of my studies, in order to have them criticised and corrected before they become parts of a more elaborate work".

Who had helped the author in this venture? Rasanayagam had acknowledged the counsel of Dr. Paul E. Peiris and Mr. H. W. Codrington "for the elucidation of several knotty points which arose from time to time". P.C. Villavarayan and R. R. Crossette Thambiah had "looked through the proofs" of the book. S. W. Coomaraswamy of Tellippalai had "translated most of the Tamil quotations" from the literature. D. Jayaratne had assisted with an "elaborate Index". Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar of Madras University provided a sound Forward to the book.

Sinhalese in Jaffna

The controversial opinion about the presence of Sinhalese in ancient Jaffna appears in the last few pages of the book. In p.384, Rasanayagam mentions,

"That Jaffna was occupied by the Sinhalese earlier than by the Tamils is seen not only in the place names of Jaffna but also in some of the habits and customs of the people. The system of branding cattle with the communal brand by which not only the caste but also the position and the family of the owner could be traced was peculiarly Sinhalese".

Before castigating Rasanayagam as an anti-Tamil (or pro-Sinhalese) historian, one should try to understand what he had meant by the use of the word "Sinhalese". In pages prior to the chapter in which this controversial opinion appears, Rasanayagam defines the races of Sri Lanka and how they evolved. Many upstart historians and (intellectually less-sound) politicians of Sri Lanka fail to read the entire work before citing Rasanayagam.

Between pages 176 and 180, the author analyses the evidences related to the earliest languages spoken by the people of Ceylon. Twelve excerpts are given below to show whom Rasanayagam considered as "Sinhalese" (Emphases are mine).

1) "The name Lanka, applied to Ceylon, had not the remotest connection with its people or with the language spoken by them. The name Ilam which was also given to Ceylon, has some affinity with its earlier language Elu. The island must have been called Ilam because Elu was spoken there; or perhaps the language was called Elu because it was spoken in Ilam. The name Ilam was undoubtedly given to Ceylon by the Tamils, her neighbors". (I presume he meant the South Indian Tamils.)

2) "As Ceylon afterwards became famous for its gold and its toddy, the word 'Ilam' later became a Tamil word to designate gold or toddy metronymically".

3) "Elu was only a spoken dialect and had not reached a state of development sufficient to produce any literature in that language. Tamil was, therefore, the Court language. The poets, kings and pandits cultivatd it for literary purposes. Tamil continued to be the Court language of Ceylon kings for several centuries. Even after the adoption of Sinhalese in Court, Tamil was not despised as Tamil poets and pandits often flocked to the court of a **learned Sinhalese** king".

4) "Elu, in its imperfect state, could not stand the onslaught of Tamil, Pali and Sanskrit. The first of these languages was introduced into Ceylon at various times by invaders and immigrants. The latter two came in through the introduction of Buddhism".

5) "Vijaya and his followers **could not have introduced** into the island, a new language and imposed it upon the people. They and their descendants would have adopted the language previously spoken in the island."

6) "There would have been **an amalgamation of the original language with Tamil and the language of the few Kalinga immigrants** who arrived in the island, by the time Buddhism was introduced."

7) "Upon the introduction of copious Pali and Sanskrit works, a **new language came into existence, with a ground work of Elu and Tamil** and a superstructure of Pali and Sanskrit."

8) "While the process of forming the Sinhalese nation was going on by the **continual mixture of the Yakkhas, Nagas, the Tamils and the Kalingas,** the Sinhalese language too was growing and expanding."

9) "The Sinhalese language, which was in an infantile stage in the 3rd Century BC, as will be seen from the undeveloped phraseology used in the cave inscriptions of that period, took about 1500 years to reach that degree of development which is necessary for the composition of literary works in that language."

10) "Thus it will be seen that the mixed population from Point Pedro to Dondra Head known by the name

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

Sinhalam, with the exception of those living in the maritime districts must have, during the early centuries of the Christian Era, spoken one language." (What Rasanayagam means by this sentence is that, 2000 years ago, the 'mixed population' would have spoken a language, predemonantly based on Tamil. If someone interprets that language as Sinhalese, which would have been in its formative stages, read the next excerpt.)

11) With the advent of Vannias who occupied the North Central region of the island in later centuries, "the people in the North became estranged from their brethren in the Centre, the South and progressed altogether on Tamil lines, whereas the **Sinhalese grew into a new nation absorbing into themselves even the millions of pure Tamils who remained in Central and Southern Ceylon after the Chola power had declined – process which can be witnessed even today in the Western Coast**."

12) "The difference (between the Tamils and 'Sinhalese') must have become accentuated after the downfall of Buddhism in Southern India and after a **large number of new Tamil colonists began to settle down** in North Ceylon . . ."

From this thesis of Rasanayagam, it is evident that the author's definition of "Sinhalese" is different from what the contemporary upstart historians and racists politicians believe in. According to Rasanayagam,

(a) Sinhalese as a language is built upon the framework of Tamil language.

(b) Sinhalese as an ethnic group, derive their origin from the admixture of Elu-speaking natives (of the island), Tamils and the Kalinga immigrants.

Kalingas, the mariners

Who are the Kalingas? Rasanayagam states in p.50 of the book:

"Kalinga was one of the earliest kingdoms established in the Dekkan by Dravidian tribes and long before the Aryan push . . . It is a fact well known to all students of the history of Ancient India that the Kaligas were a people who were almost the first among Indian races to cross the seas, not only for commercial enterprise but also for the sake of conquest and colonisation. It was they who established the town of Singapura – now called Singapore – in the Straits Settlements, and Indians, from whatever country they may hail, are still known among the Malays as 'Klings', a corruption of the term 'Kalingas'." (It should also be known that even in present Thailand, the tribes known as 'Klings' trace their origin to Kalingas of India, vis, Tamils).

Nagadipa and the Northern Kingdom

Much fuss is made among those who provide concoctions of racist history to the existence of Nagadipa in Jaffna region and the possible evidence for the presence of Sinhalese there in ancient times. Rasanayagam writes, between pages 64 and 66, as follows:

"Devanampiya Tiossa 'erected a vihara at the port of Jambukola in Nagadipa; likewise the Tissamaha Vihara and the Pacina Vihara' (Mahavansa, chap.xix) . . . From the time of Devanampiya Tissa to the reign of Mahallaka Naga, a period of about 400 years evoked the admiration of such a hostile author as that of the Mahavansa, appears to have taken any special interest as regards the northern principality. The presumption, therefore, is that in those years the northern principality was quite independent and quiet."

And again, in pages 79 and 80, Rasanayagam writes:

"In spite of the reticence of the Mahavansa, **very probably intentional, it will be clearly seen that for a thousand years after the advent of Vijaya, the principality in the North existed undisturbed,** *while the Central power at Anuradhapura passed through several changes of dynasties and several storms of conquest. First by mere alliance, and then by acquiring control over their neighbors, the kings of the North saw to it that they had no serious difficulties to contend with, and hence their continual reign for such a long period."*

The best chapters

Of the eight chapters, the two on Foreign Trade and Intercourse by ancient Tamils of Eelam, I consider as written with exceptional merit. These two were (as the author had mentioned in his preface) "read before the Ceylon branch of the Royal Asiatic Society", under the titles, 'The Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna and the Early Greek Writers' and 'The identification of the Port of Kalah'. In these two chapters, Rasanayagam traces the evidence for the prosperity of ancient Eelam, as described in the authoritative works of Pliny the Elder (23-79AD) and Ptolemy (2nd Cent. AD)

On page 128 of the book, based on the numismatic evidences found in Kantharodai, Rasanayagam infers that, "300 years, extending from 50BC to 250AD, as the glorious period of prosperity of this country (Eelam) which synchronises with the Augustan age of Tamil literature under the patronage of the third Sangam of Madura".

The writings of Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th Cent.AD) and Marco Polo (1254-1323) on the northern territory of Ceylon have also been interestingly analysed by Rasanayagam. Marco Polo's descriptions of the 13th century Eelam demands a more elaborate study, than provided by Rasanayagam, and it will be dealt with in a later article.

Vijaya Bahu's Jaffna Connection

Recently, the JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera has been quoted as saying. "Under the leadership of Vijayabahu I think of how our ancestors defeated the powerful Chola empire" (*Tamil Times*, Dec. 1988) If this attribution is true, I could only say that Wijeweera hasn't studied the medieval history of Ceylon in detail and hasn't read Mahavasa at all.

Rasanayagam, in pages 277-278 of his book, reveals the matrimonial connections Vijaya Bahu had with Jaffna kingdom, from the verses of Mahavansa. To quote:

"Vijaya Bahu (1054-1109AD) being, 'desirous to prolong and establish his race sent forth and brought a princess of exceeding beauty and delicate form born of the race of the kings of Kalinga whose name was Tilakasundari and anointed her as his queen' (Mahavansa, chap.59, vv.29-30) . . . The princess and her kinsmen might have come from Sinhapura, the Singai Nagar of Jaffna . . . In the 19th year of his reign, Vijaya Bahu, in order to put down certain rebels in the Rohana and Malaya countries, 'sent into the field an Officer of his wife's brother's race' (Mahavansa, chap. 59, vv18-21)."

Rasanayagam continues, "If the translation in the Mahavansa is correct, it clearly shows that his wife's brother was a ruling prince and if our surmise is correct he must have been the king of Jaffna. Vikrama Bahu, the son of Vijaya Bahu, appears to have been a follower of Hinduism, his mother's religion, for he despoiled the viharas and allowed his Tamil soldiers to dwell in them. The priests therefore removed the Tooth Relic and went to Rohana (Mahavansa, chap.61, vv.54-651)." Vikrama Bahu reigned between 1121 and 1131AD.

Buddhistic bias of Mahavansa

In many instances, Rasanayagam emphasizes the "unreliability of the Mahavansa as a historical narrative", due to its Buddhistic bias. Just two examples from his book are given below.

1) "The author of the Mahavansa, in his attempt to ignore the importance of the Northern kingdom and the part it played in the history of Ceylon from the 12th to the 15th century, has in several instances, unconsciously revealed the truth. The suppression of these facts was obviously intentional and he had to turn and twist facts to suit his own purpose . . ."(pp.311-312).

2) "The author of the Mahavansa who allots several chapters to the reign of Parakrama Bahu disposes of the reigns of Nissanka Malla and his successors in a few verses, although the

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

glories of some of them, in spite of all their troubles and strife, are well enough indicated in their inscriptions. They seem to have been passed over because of their leanings towards Hinduism, although they really were exceptionally tolerant" (p.324).

Rasanayagam's class bias

Brief mention should be made on the class bias of some of the views expressed by Rasanayagam. One should not overlook the prevailing social atmosphere in Jaffna 60 years ago. Belonging to the elite class, Rasanayagam had commented somewhat derisively on some of the so-called lower castes of the Jaffna society, between pages 383 and 384 of the book. It is irrelevant and inappropriate to dwell on this hypocrisy in late 1980s and the author can be excused for his idiosyncracy.

Conclusion

Despite the frivolity of Rasanayagam's derivation of the origin of some castes in medieval Jaffna, after reading the book 'Ancient Jaffna', one gets the impression that it provides a scholastic history of Eelam and the ancient Tamils. Unfortunately the upstart historians and racist politicians (as one would expect) quote Rasanayagam out of context to suit their fancy, without reading even a chapter of his book.

Mr. C. Vyramuthu – an appreciation

It is (almost) a year since the late Mr C. Vyramuthu went on his last journey but the memory of him is still fresh in the minds of all who knew him. A year may pass and fade away, but to his children and grandchildren, he is still with them.

He was a dedicated teacher at RKM Vaidyeshwara Vidyalayam, Jaffna for over 38 years during which time he was also the Vice Principal of the institution. The rapid growth of Vaidyeshwara, through his hard work is phenomenal. He instilled into the children the right values and traditions, based on Hindu Culture.

My association with him started during the sixties when I was Education Officer, Jaffna. Apart from School administration his special field was the teaching of English as a Foreign Language. I had to harness his knowledge and wide experience in this field, for the benefit of the teachers of English in Jaffna. He was always prepared to work round the clock with us for this cause.

His simplicity, pleasing personality and captivating smile endeared even strangers to him. He was indeed as his name indicates, a diamond among Vice Principals and pearl among humans.

May His Soul rest in peace.

S.P. Shivapatham
Retired Regional Director of Education

60, Kandy Rd
Jaffna
Sri Lanka
22.3.89

'TOP KILLER' IN POLICE NET

Is he a psychopath, a contract hitman, or a dedicated well-trained member of the Deshapremi Janatha Viyaparaya DJV), reputedly known to be the armed wing of the Janatha Vimukthi Permuna (JVP), who carried out instructions from his political leaders? Described as a 27-year old young man who had passed the National Certificate of Education examination, Upul (presumably an alias) hailing from Horana is now under the custody of the Sri Lankan police being held in an undisclosed place having confessed to over forty murders, several robberies and a number of raids on military camps, police stations and banks.

Upul's life of political murders began with the first victim being a police constable killed at Maharagama in 1987. Upul had reportedly confessed to the murders of the SLMP leader Vijaya Kumaranatunga, UNP General Secretary Nandalal Fernando, Deputy Inspector General of Police and Head of the counter Subversive Unit Terence Perera, a Municipal Councillor Jayantha Mallimarachchi, a police sub-Inspector at Maharagama, a family of six UNP supporters at Pitipana, three members of the UNP trade union JSS, two Sri Lanka Transport Board depot Inspectors, two SLTB drivers, five killings at Pugoda, two well known Pettah business men Eliathamby Shanmugan and Eliathamby Subramaniam and a host of others including that of Prof. Stanley Wijesundera who was killed on March 8 within the Colombo University.

Upul also is reported to have participated in attacks on the Sri Lanka Air force Base at Katunayake, the Welikade jail break, the attack on the Bambalapitiya police station during which he shot dead a police constable and the Rs. 22 million bank robbery at Wellawatte on February 8.

Before his arrest, Upul was infact on remand in connection with a rural bank robbery, but a gang of 'subversives' ambushed a prison department vehicle in which he was being transported and freed him some time ago. Upul's confessioon in regard to the murder of Vijaya Kumaranatunga had revealed that he had resided in a safe house close to the residence of his intended victim at Polhengoda near Colombo. One of the weapons he had used in the many killings was a sophisticated Heckler and Koch pistol, which could be loaded with twenty bullets at a time, was robbed from a Special Task force officer after attacking him.

All the killings and attacks in which he and others were involved had been carried out on the basis of assignments given by 'bosses' from 'above'.

On the basis of information given by Upul the police have made several arrests including three members of the gang involved in the Rs 22 million cash and jewellery robbery at the Wellawatte Peoples Bank in February this year.

The Sri Lankan security forces had to be used to deal with the violence in the south, and if this diminished, they could be deployed in the north and east. But at the present level of violence in the south, there were not enough men to be deployed in the north and east. The IPKF stay was being prolonged to deal with the situation in the Tamil areas due to the violence in the south, the Minister added.

BUYING & SELLING

FOR FRIENDLY SERVICE AND ADVICE IN BUYING & SELLING HOUSES, SHOPS AND COMMERCIAL PROPERTIES.

Wimal & Co
SOLICITORS

3,5 & 7 Brigstock Road,
Thornton Heath,
Surrey CR4 7JG.
Telephone: 01-689-7503
01-683-2645
DX 59151 THORNTON HEATH
FAX: 01-683-2645

(ASK FOR WIMAL SOCKANATHAN)

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

CLASSIFIED ADS

First 20 words £10
Each additional word 60p
Charge for Box No. £3
(Vat 15% extra)
Prepayment essential
The Advertisement Manager
Tamil Times Ltd, PO Box 12
Sutton, Surrey SMI 3TD
Phone 01-644 0972

MATRIMONIAL

UK resident Tamil parents *seek vegetarian bride/groom for son, 26, chemistry graduate in good employment and daughter, 21, works for British Airways. Both British citizens. Details, horoscopes and photos to M 288, c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu Tamil sister *seeks professionally qualified partner, preferably doctor, for her professional engineer brother, 29, presently in America. Mars afflicted. Details with horoscope to M 289, c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *seek bride for handsome son, 26, computer careerist. Horoscope and details to M 290, c/o Tamil Times.*

Aunt seeks Hindu partner *for niece, 25, innocent party in early divorce, has permanent residence abroad, but willing to move if necessary. Full details with horoscope to M 291, c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parent *seeks professional for attractive, fair accountant daughter, 27. Send horoscope Box 3543, Winnetka, California CA 91306, USA.*

Tamil Christian family *seeks for Sri Lankan born girl aged 22, estate Indian Tamil origin, now Australian citizen, residing in Australia, suitable Christian marriage partner. Please send full details and photograph to M 292, c/o Tamil Times.*

WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriage

Sritharan *son of Mr. and Mrs. E. Thillainayagam, K.K.S. Road, Chunnakam, Sri Lanka and* **Kalaivani** *daughter of Mr. and Mrs. S. Ponnayya, K.K.S. Road., Mallakam, Sri Lanka on 25.3.89 at Chris Gibson Recreation Centre, Brampton, Ontario, Canada.*

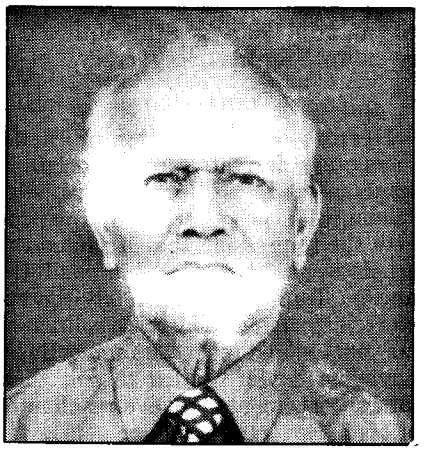
Nithiyanantham *son of the late Mr & Mrs Thambirajah, Main Road, Kaluwanchikudy, Sri Lanka and* **Sri Balagengathevy** *daughter of the late Mr & Mrs Nagalingam, Ampanai, Tellippalai, Sri Lanka on 27.3.89 at London Sri Murugan Temple, London E12.*

Srikanthan *son of the late Mr & Mrs R Rasaligam, Thavadi, Sri Lanka and* **Vasutharani (Girija)** *daughter of Mr & Mrs P Narendranathan, 53 Crossways, South Croydon, Surrey CR2 8JQ on 2.4.89 at Selsdon Hall, Selsdon, Surrey, UK.*

Dr Devakumar *son of Mr & Mrs A Ratnasingam, 90 Empire Road, Perivale, Middx, UK and* **Shyamala** *daughter of Mr & Mrs P Vettivetpillai, 17 Northdown Road, Welling, Kent, UK on 9.4.89 at Lola Jones Hall, Greaves Place, London SW17.*

Shanmugarajah *son of Mr & Mrs P Tanaraja, 64 Lorong Ma'arof, Bangsar Park, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and* **Sivanayaki** *daughter of the late Mr & Mrs K. Sittambalam, Colombo on 10.4.89 at Kalamandapam, Brickfields, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.*

OBITUARIES



Arumugam Kathirithamby *(89) of Anaicoddai, retired Chief Station Master, C.G.R Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, beloved husband of the late Indrani, dearest father of Dr Sivaloganathan (New Malden, UK), Saraswathy Nadarajah (Barnes, London SW13), Sivasothinathan (Toronto), the late Jegasothinathan, Balachandran (Colombo), Jegatheswary Puvirajasingham (Barrow in Furness, UK), Jeyaluxmi Rajasooriyar (Colombo), and the late Chandrajothi; loving father in law of the late Dr Nadarajah (Zambia), Maheswary Sivaloganathan, Dr Puvirajasingham, Mankaiarkarasy Sivasothinathan, and Dr Rajasooriyar; loving grandfather of Dr Sivabal (Edmonton, Canada), Dr Jeyabal (Bath, UK), Leela Sivaloganathan; Manoharan (Lincolnshire, UK), Dr Dayaparan Nadarajah (New Jersey, USA), Vanaja Patel, Vasuhi & Vathsala Nadarajah; Nirmalan, Shivani & Janani Puvirajasingham, Vasantha Kumar (Colombo); grand uncle of Subhas Patel & Shamistra Nadarajah and great grand father of Anuska passed away peacefully on 26.3.89 on his eighty ninth birthday – 76 Rating Lane, Barrow in Furness, Cumbria, LA13 9LD, UK. Tel: 0229 21621*

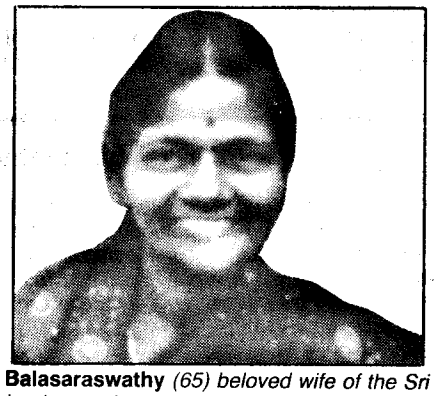
Reginald Rasiah *(72) beloved husband of Reena nee Duncan father of Shanti passed away on 10.3.89 – 32 Rodway Road, Bromley, Kent, U.K.*

Kirubaikumaran *beloved husband of Celeste nee Whelan, father of Ambika son of Mr & Mrs V K Nalliah, 19b Clifford Road, Colombo 4, passed away on 3.3.89 under tragic circumstances in a car accident in London.*

Vaithilingam Visaka Perumal *(49) beloved husband of Vijayalakshmy, father of Shyamala, brother of Kanagasabapathypillai (Andrews) of Sri Lanka passed away on 2.4.89 in London – 8 Sandringham Avenue, London SW 20 Tel:01-540 3195.*

Thiru Kandiah *(49) Journalist and Internationally reputed Astropalmist, son of the late Mr. Thalaiyali V. Kandiah and Mrs. Maheswari Kandiah, beloved husband of Gnaneswary; father of Jegajanani, Janarthan, and Jegalakshi; brother of Vani Mahendran (Sri Lanka), Bhavani, Rama, Nalini Suriyakumaran and Mahesan (all of U.K.) passed away in Colombo on 5.4.89.*

Job Selvarajah *(42) Librarian, Batticaloa Minicipal Library, Sri Lanka, beloved husband of Devi nee Chelliah, father of Sujivan and Sajini, brother of John, Jesudason, Yogamalar, Joy Malar all of Sri Lanka, Joseph (UK), Tharmaseelan (Saudi Arabia) died under tragic circumstances, killed in bus at Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka on 1.3.89.*



Balasaraswathy *(65) beloved wife of the Sri Lankan educationalist and human rights activist K. Sivapalan, daughter of the late Mr & Mrs TC Mylvaganam of Kalmunai, Sri Lanka, mother of the late Giridharan and Gangadharan who were killed during communal disturbances in Sri Lanka, Nirmala Armitt, Haridharan, Mayuradharan and Dhushiyadharan all of UK; Premila Nandakumar, Yogadharan and Ravidharan of West Germany passed away on 13.3.89 at Leatherhead – 77 Cannon Grove, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey, UK Tel: 0372 374958*

Forthcoming events

The **London Veena Group** *presents Veena recitals by* **Arunthathy Srikantha Rajah**
May 4: *7.30pm Norwich Arts Centre, Norwich*
May 6: *7.30pm Congregational Hall, Nottingham*
May 20: *7.30pm Town Hall Studios, Swindon*
May 27: *7.30pm Herbert Art Gallery and Museum*
For details Tel:01-543 2126 or 01-672 0603

May 5: *6.30pm Star Night – Music, Dance, Comedy – presented by Siv Raj Enterprises and Verandah Restaurant. For tickets and information phone 01-767 8201/7959, 01-659 1185*

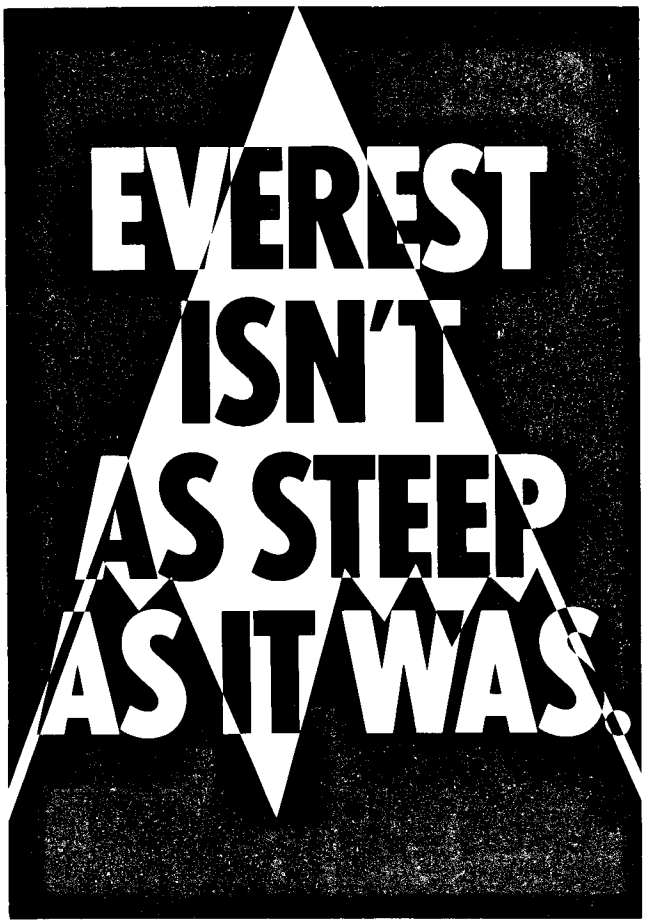
May 6: *7.pm to midnight* **St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, Old Boys' Dinner-Dance** *at Wimbledon Town Hall, London SW19. For information and bookings Tel: 01-590 7247, 01-446 4732*

May 13: *7.30pm* **Bharatanatya Arangetram** *of* **Meera Appa** *at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ. For invitations ring 01-568 9803*

May 13: *7.00p.m.* **Tamil Union of Herts** *presents* **'An Evening of Dance & Drama'** *in aid of Herts Tamil School at Copland School, Wembley, Middx, U.K. Tickets £3. Children under 14 free.*

May 26: *7 p.m.* **Institute of Eastern Culture and Arts** *presents* **'Nenjil Nirainthavai'** *by Foremost Indian Artistes* **T.M. Soundararajan** *and* **P. Susheela** *and their troupe at Westminster Central Hall, Storey's Gate, London SW1H 9NU. For tickets and information phone 01-471 8366, 01-471 5742, 01-459 8589.*

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org



Everest's Special Rates			
Minimum Deposit	50%	40%	30%
Flat Rate	4.9%	6.9%	8.9%
APR	9.57%	13.46%	17.06%
Repayment Period	24 months	36 months	48 months
Amount of Loan	£2000	£2000	£2000
Monthly Repayment	£91.50	£67.06	£56.50
Total Repaid	£2196.00	£2414.16	£2712.00
Amount of Loan	£5000	£5000	£5000
Monthly Repayment	£228.75	£167.65	£141.25
Total Repaid	£5490.00	£6035.40	£6780.00

We certainly haven't altered our standards. Just our interest rates.

This spring we're offering a finance package that's clearly too good to miss.

You've got until the 5th of June to order entrance doors, patio doors, secondary windows, replacement windows, cladding, a porch or a conservatory.

Whatever you choose will help to protect you and your family against the elements, noise or even theft.

Quite a tall order, we think you'd agree.

For more information phone Everest on

01-886 5966.

SHIPPING – AIR FREIGHT – TRAVEL

UNACCOMPANIED BAGGAGE
PERSONAL EFFECTS, HOUSEHOLD GOODS,
VEHICLES, MACHINERIES ETC.

We supply Tax Free Goods for export to

★ SRI LANKA ★ INDIA ★ PAKISTAN ★
★ AUSTRALIA AND OTHER FAR EAST COUNTRIES ★ CANADA ★ USA ★ AFRICA AND OTHER WORLD DESTINATIONS

We collect. We pack. We insure.

WE WILL FLY YOU ANY WHERE, ANY TIME ON SCHEDULED FLIGHTS AT LOW PRICES

GLEN CARRIERS LIMITED

Unit 1 Poplar Mews, Uxbridge Road, Shepherds Bush, London W12 7JP
Tel: 01-740 8379/01-749 0595
Fax: 01-740 4229 Telex 929657 Glenca G

St. Patrick's College, Jaffna
OLD BOY'S DINNER-DANCE

(in aid of college funds)

At Wimbledon Town Hall, S.W.19
On Saturday, May 6, 1989 from 7pm till midnight
Tickets: £9 inclusive of dinner, children under 12 free
Admission by advance booking only

Guest of Honour: Rev. Fr. A.I. Bernard
Guest artists: Nihal & Niranjan Pancratius, Ravi & Quintus & A.E. Monoharan
Live Band: Soft Option
Caterers: Neela Vanee Restaurant, Hayes

Raffles, Licensed bars, and snacks available

For further information and bookings contact:

Mena Chelvanayagam	01-446 4732;	Xavier	01-540 8309
Rohan Thuraisingham	0233-623493;	Prithiraj	01-997 5324
Raj Sellakone	01-684 6269;	Alex Arulanandam	01-590 7247
M. Francis	01-749 3260;	R.T. Machado	01-889 8958

Old Boys, families and friends welcome!

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

ABTA 71932

IATA

Rathbone Holidays Limited

GENERAL & BUSINESS TRAVEL

55 RATHBONE PLACE, LONDON W1P 1AB ENGLAND

We are Main Agents for Air Lanka, UTA, Korean Air, Royal Jordanian Airline

SUMMER 1989 FARES (Except July and August)

Some of our best fares

	Return
★ LONDON – COLOMBO – SINGAPORE – SYDNEY – COLOMBO – LONDON	£850
★ LONDON – COLOMBO – HONG KONG – SYDNEY – COLOMBO – LONDON	£870
★ LONDON – COLOMBO – KUALALUMPUR – MADRAS – LONDON	£510

★★ LONDON – COLOMBO – LONDON		£399
★★ LONDON – MADRAS – LONDON	Direct	£460
★★ LONDON – COLOMBO – MADRAS – COLOMBO – LONDON		£470
★★ LONDON – SINGAPORE – COLOMBO – LONDON		£490

AND MAY MORE SPECIAL FARES AVAILABLE FROM US

FOR PROMPT ATTENTION
PLEASE CALL US ON
01 580 4460
NOW!

We accept all major credit cards – Visa/Barclaycard/Access/American Express

WE ARE NOW OPEN SATURDAY BETWEEN 10.00 HOURS to 13.00 HOURS

Published by Tamil Times Ltd., PO Box 121, Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD; Typeset & Printed by Set Line Data Ltd., Union Street, SE1

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org